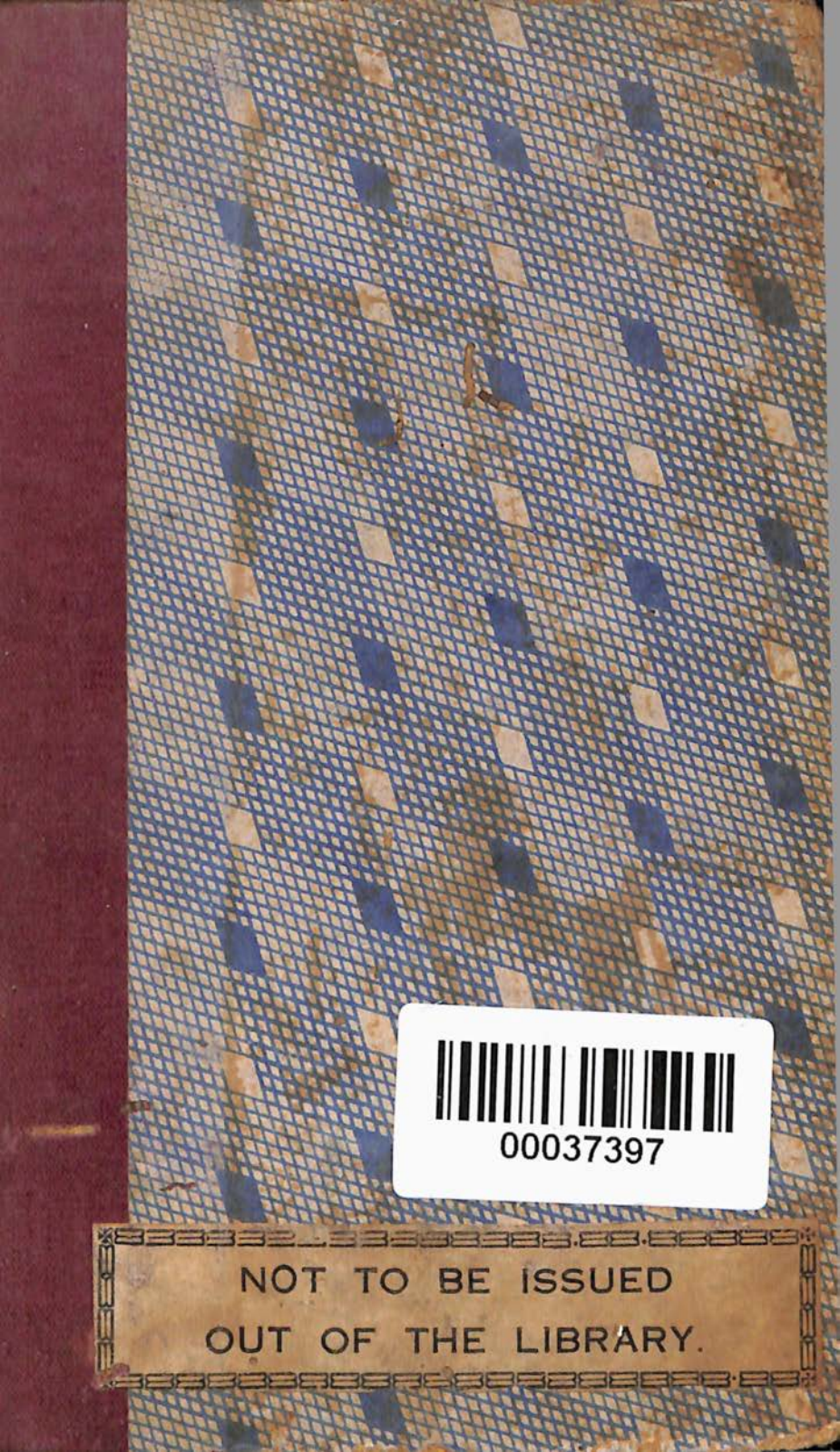
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THE

LIFE

OF

JOHN,

Duke of Marlborough,

Prince of the *Roman* Empire;

Illuſtrated with

MAPS, Plans of BATTLES, SIEGES, and MEDALS,

And a great Number of

ORIGINAL LETTERS and PAPERS

Never before Publiſhed

B. 2487.
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By THOMAS LEDIARD, Gent.

VOLUME I.

MARLBRO's *Exploits appear divinely bright,*
And proudly ſhine in their own native Light;
Rais'd of themſelves, their genuine Charms they boaſt,
And thoſe who Paint them trueſt, Praiſe them moſt.

ADDISON.

LONDON.
Printed for J. WILCOX, againſt the New Church in the *Strand.*

MDCCXXXVI.

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TO THE

High, Puiſſant, and moſt Noble

PRINCE

CHARLES SPENCER,

Duke of MARLBOROUGH,

Marquis of BLANDFORD,

Earl of MARLBOROUGH and SUNDERLAND,

Baron CHURCHILL of SANDRIDGE,

AND

Baron SPENCER of WORMLEIGHTON.

SIR,

THE Subject of the following Sheets will, I flatter myſelf, in a great Meaſure, juſtify my Preſumption, in offering them to YOUR GRACE'S Patronage, and attone for an Intruſion, which would, otherwiſe, be unpardonable: For to whoſe Protection can the *Life of the Great and Glorious* JOHN, *Duke of* MARLBOROUGH, the HERO of latter Ages, have Recourſe, with ſo much Juſtice and Propriety, as to that of the ILLUSTRIOUS PERSON, who has inherited as well his Virtues as his Honours; and in whom GREAT BRI-

TAIN

TAIN may expect to ſee a Series of Actions, which alone can compare with thoſe of his RENOWNED ANCESTOR?

HOW happy ſhould I eſteem myſelf, were I capable of obliging Poſterity with a Character, but in ſome Degree, adequate to the GREAT MAN whoſe Life I have attempted to write! But as, with all my Endeavours, I ſhould not be able to add one Tittle to our BRITISH HERO's Glory, which ſoars as much above the Reach of Praiſe, as it is above that of Envy, I have aim'd at no more than a bare *Skizzo* of it in my Preface. Let SCHELLENBERG and HOCHSTADT denounce his Fame! Let RAMELLIES, OUDENARDE, and MALPLACQUET, and a Thouſand other extenſive Scenes of Glory, trumpet out his juſt EULOGIUM!

IN the mean Time, a genuine, tho' plain Relation of ſuch Atchievments, the greateſt which ever embelliſh'd any Hiſtory, either Antient or Modern, is alone a Panegyrick ſufficient, and cannot but be acceptable to YOUR GRACE, as they were performed by YOUR GREAT PREDECESSOR. The Services this wonderful Man did for *Europe* were ſo extraordinary, and the Terrour he ſtruck into the Enemies of GREAT BRITAIN, in particular, ſo great, that they are not to be reflected upon but with an Aſtoniſhment, which nothing can or ought to equal, but our grateful Acknowledgment of them. Poſterity will, indeed, with Indignation, read, that after an uninterrupted Series of Triumphs, beyond Example, the blackeſt Ingratitude could find its way into the Hearts of ſome Men, who dar'd to endeavour the blaſting

ing of his Reputation: But as the Attempt was equally vain, and inglorious, ſo it ſoon met with the Fate it deſerved, and true Merit again rode triumphant.

WOULD I purſue the uſual Method and Tenour of Dedications, I ſhould now enter upon Your Grace's Character; But the Task would be equally arduous with the former, and would not fail to offend YOUR GRACE'S Modeſty; I ſhall, therefore, only concur with the Voice of the Publick, in admiring the wonderful Perfection, with which whatever is amiable in Life is center'd in YOUR ILLUSTRIOUS PERSON, and ſhines thro' all Your Actions.

THAT YOUR GRACE may long live, and continue to make theſe princely Accompliſhments beneficial to Your

Country; And that You may be bleſſed with a numerous OFFSPRING of HEROES, who, with their ILLUSTRIOUS FATHER, may trace the Foot-ſteps of their GLORIOUS ANCESTOR, and with his Virtue, ſhare his IMMORTAL NAME, for the Univerſal Good of Mankind, are the hearty and ſincere Wiſhes of,

SIR,

YOUR GRACE'S

Moſt devoted,

And moſt obedient

Humble Servant

Smith's Square, Weſtminſter, Jan. 29, 1735-6.

Tho. Lediard.

PREFACE.

AS only *ſome faint Sketches of the Life of that* ILLUSTRIOUS HERO, JOHN Duke of MARLBOROUGH, *the* GLORY *of* GREAT BRITAIN, *and one of the* GREATEST MEN *the Age he lived in produced, have hitherto appeared, it has long been the Admiration of the Publick, that ſome or other of our ableſt Writers has not employ'd his Pen on ſo rich, ſo noble a Subject: And that an earneſt Deſire of ſeing ſomething more perfect of this Kind, has greatly prevail'd, is evident by the continual Demand there has been, ſome Years paſt, for whatever is already publiſh'd, to the Honour and Memory of this* GREAT PERSON.

THE Task muſt, indeed, be allow'd to be very arduous, not only on account of the Diſadvantages which every Writer is liable to, who attempts the Hiſtory or Lives of Great Men, *ſo ſoon after their Death; but becauſe* Actions *ſo* Glorious, *and withal ſo* Important, *as thoſe which compoſe the Life of our* HERO, *require*

require the utmoſt Care and Skill of an able Hiſtorian, not only to diſplay them in their juſt and true Colours; but to cloath his Relations in Words, tho' not equal (which none but an Addiſon *could pretend to ſucceed in) yet, at leaſt, in ſome Meaſure, approaching to the Dignity of his Subject. And tho', with Reſpect to the firſt, no Pains have here been ſpared to collect and digeſt Materials proper for the Ends required; and for the latter, Perſpicuity and Order might make ſome Attonement for want of Eloquence: Yet I ſhould have readily confeſs'd myſelf altogether unequal to the Task, and not have dared to undertake it, had there not been ſome Motives more than ordinary, which to me, at leaſt, ſeem'd of Weight to juſtify me in the Attempt. How far theſe Motives are really ſo, or not, I muſt ſubmit to the Judgment of the candid Reader: And*

1. *IT is not a Secret, that a very noted Writer of thoſe Times, in every Reſpect equal to the Undertaking, actually ſet about this deſirable Work, not long after our* Illuſtrious General's *Death; and a moſt acceptable Work it would, without Doubt, have been to the Publick, had he lived to compleat his Deſign: But Death took him away, and depriv'd* England *of the Satisfaction, when he had but juſt form'd the Plan of it, and had made but very ſmall Advances in the Superſtructure. Part of the Materials, from which this noble Edifice was deſign'd to have been rais'd, fell, accidentally, into my Hands, and*

I thought

I thought them too weighty, as well as curious, to be bury'd in Oblivion.

2. *HAVING myſelf been an Eye-witneſs of ſome of the Tranſactions I have here recorded, and particularly, as I was at the Time of one of them, not the leaſt among the glorious Number, in the Duke's Retinue, (I mean in his Journey into* Saxony, *to influence the King of* Sweden, *if not in Favour of the* Allies, *at leaſt to engage in nothing to their Prejudice,) I imagin'd, and I hope my Imagination has not been wholly groundleſs, I might be able to ſet ſome Matters in a truer Light, than they have hitherto been ſhewn in.*

3. *A GENTLEMAN of great Worth, who is poſſeſs'd of a conſiderable Number of Original Letters, as well of the Duke's, as of many other Perſons of Diſtinction, was ſo generous to the Publick, and ſo much a Favourer of my Undertaking, to offer me the Uſe of them; and tho', 'till then, a perfect Stranger to me, to confide them in my Hands for ſeveral Months: A noble Example of publick Spirit, rarely to be found, and therefore the more deſerving of this open Acknowledgment, tho' his Modeſty obliges me to conceal his Name! Of theſe valuable Pieces, the Reader will find many Tranſlations at Length, Extracts of others, and from yet others I have borrowed ſuch Intelligences as have enabled me to ſet many dubious Matters in a true Light. The Advantage theſe Materials muſt neceſſarily have been of in the compiling of this Work, is too evident to need any Illuſtration. To theſe I may add,*

4. *THE*

4. *THE Opportunity I have had, in above twenty Years Travels, to converſe with a great Number of Foreign Officers, ſome of whom have commanded, and others ſerved in, the Auxiliary Troops, under our incomparable* Britiſh Chief, *as well as of reading what has been publiſhed in ſeveral Languages, and in different Countries, on this diffuſive Subject.*

THESE, I ſay, were, among others, the Motives which engaged me to undertake a Work, which without theſe Helps, I ſhould have been very unequal to; And, with theſe, I have not been wanting to conſult, and make the beſt Uſe I could, of our own Hiſtorians of thoſe Times.

FOREIGN Authors, and eſpecially Rouſſet, Dumont, *and the Marquis* de Quincy, *have likewiſe, not only been carefully conſulted; But whatever is contained in the two former, curious and remarkable, not found in other Hiſtorians, has been faithfully tranſlated and inſerted in this Work.*

PARTICULARLY, as I am perfectly convinced of the Truth of what Dean Swift *advances (in his Preface to Sir* William Temple's *Letters) "That nothing is ſo capable of giving a true Account of Story, as Letters are; "which deſcribe Actions while they are alive "and breathing: Whereas all other Relations "are of Actions paſt and dead." I have built my Relations as much as poſſible on Original Letters, and their authentick Copies: But as too prolix Accounts of Actions, tho' never ſo Glorious and Memorable, are generally tedious to*

moſt

moſt Readers, I have endeavour'd every where to bring them within as narrow a Compaſs as the Circumſtances of Affairs would admit, referring to ſuch Letters and other valuable Pieces, which immediately follow my Relations, as Vouchers of the Truth of them.

TO all this, I have added as many Medals as I have been able to come at, which have been ſtruck on Occaſion of the great Events of this Glorious Life, as well engraven as explain'd: And that nothing might be wanting to give the Reader a perfect Idea of the great Actions that are here recorded, he will find exact Plans of the principal Battles and Sieges. With Reſpect to Medals, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that tho' the Virtuoſi, *in this Way, generally ſet a Value on ſuch Monuments, in Proportion to their Antiquity; yet, it is to be conſidered, that what is now* Modern, *will be* Antique *ſome hundred Years hence; and that if ancient Hiſtorians had been as careful to hand down to us the Medals and Coins of their reſpective Times, we ſhould now be at a greater Certainty than we are, as to ſome very important Points of Chronology.*

I SHALL not ſpend much Time, in informing the Reader of the Method I have obſerved in writing the following Sheets; I ſhall only ſay, that, in general, I have endeavour'd to follow the known Rules of Hiſtory, and that, as on the one Side, Adulation could have no Place in compiling the Life of a Man, whoſe every Action, juſtly and fairly related, is a Panegyrick on himſelf; So, on the other Hand, I may venture

to

to ſay, I have not, either to gratify any Party, or to ſhew any private Reſentment of my own, given an ill-natur'd Turn to the Actions, or libell'd the Perſons, even of thoſe Men, who have ſhewn themſelves the moſt irreconcileable Enemies of my Hero. *I have, indeed, ſhewn, wherein they have wrong'd his Perſon and Character, but I hope every where with ſuch good Manners, at leaſt, that I believe there is not one Line throughout the whole three Volumes, that can juſtly give Offence to any reaſonable Perſon whomſoever.*

BUT as I have mentioned the Character of this Illuſtrious Perſon, *it may probably not be unacceptable to the Reader, if I attempt to give, at leaſt, a general Idea of it.*

IT would be ſuperfluous to go about to prove here, that our Nation has produced as great and able Men, in every Faculty and State of Life, as any other: But we ſhall ſcarce find, in the Hiſtory of any Nation, either ancient or modern, the two ſo different Characters, as thoſe of a General and a Miniſter, riſing by ſo regular Steps, and wrought up to ſo high a Pitch of Perfection, as in the Great Man *whoſe Life we have now before us.* " *It is* (ſays the Author " of the Tatler) *a pleaſing Reflection, to conſi-* " *der the Diſpenſation of Providence, in the* " *Fortune of this* Illuſtrious Man, *who in the* " *Space of Forty Years, paſs'd thro' all the Gra-* " *dations of human Life, 'till he aſcended the* " *Character of a Prince, and became the Scourge* " *of a Tyrant, who ſate in one of the greateſt* " *Thrones of* Europe, *before the Man who was to*

" *have*

" *have the greateſt Part in his Downfall, had made*
" *a Step in the World. But ſuch Elevations are*
" *the natural Conſequences of an* exact Prudence,
" *a* calm Courage, *a* well governed Temper,
" *a* patient Ambition, *and an* affable Behavi-
" our. *Theſe Arts, as they were the Steps to*
" *his Greatneſs, ſo were they the Pillars of it*
" *when rais'd. To this her Glorious Son,* Great
" Britain *was indebted for the Conduct of her*
" *Arms, in whom ſhe can boaſt, ſhe has pro-*
" *duced a* MAN, FORM'D BY NATURE TO
" LEAD A NATION OF HEROES.

BUT it may perhaps be expected, that I ſhould enter into a more particular Detail *of thoſe excellent Qualifications of Body and Mind, which, together, compoſe this Shining Character; And tho' every Action of this* Great Man's *Life loudly ſpeaks his Praiſe, and every Page of his Hiſtory is a juſt Panegyrick upon him; which without Doubt, induced the great Mr.* Addiſon, *with Juſtice and Propriety, to conclude his excellent Poem, call'd the* Campaign, *with ſaying his Exploits were of ſuch a Nature,* That thoſe who paint them trueſt, praiſe them moſt: *Tho', I ſay, I might, for theſe Reaſons, be diſpenſed with entering into this* Detail, *eſpecially ſince* our Hero *(as the Author of the* Tatler *many Years ſince ſaid)* has been ſo long the Subject of Panegyrick, that it is as hard to ſay any thing new in his Praiſe, as to add to the Merit which requires ſuch Eulogiums. *Yet I ſhall endeavour to contract this diffuſive Character, which might very well fill a Number of Sheets, within*

a narrow

a narrow Compaſs, and leave a Sketch of it; to be finiſh'd by a more able Hand.

TO conſider this GREAT MAN, *in general, he appears to have been deſign'd by Nature for a* FAVOURITE. *He poſſeſs'd, in the higheſt Perfection, the Qualifications required to make a conſummate* GENERAL; *and as Fortune was not backward in throwing Opportunities in his Way, to diſplay them, ſo his Perſonal Merit raiſed him to the higheſt Command: And to compleat his General Character, Aſſiduity in Buſineſs, and a long Experience of Court-Intrigues, made him a finiſh'd* STATESMAN.

IF we look upon his Perſon, we find he was lofty and well-made, his Features manly yet beautiful, his Look free and open, his Mien great, and his Appearance, in every reſpect, noble and graceful: And for his Mind, he had lively Parts, a faithful and moſt exact Memory, a deep Penetration, a ſolid and clear Judgment, an incomparable Preſence of Mind, and the moſt undaunted Courage in the greateſt Dangers.

AS a COURTIER, *none ever exceeded him, in all the Arts neceſſary for forming that Character. He was ſupple, affable, ſedate, reſerved both with Friends and Enemies; yet careſs'd all People, with a ſoft and obliging Deportment, being always ready to do good Offices. He was ſober, and averſe to Luxury; and tho', in his youthful Days, being in a voluptuous Court, he could not well avoid indulging himſelf in ſome Liberties of Life, yet he ſtill preſerved a good Reputation with all Men, and was an Enemy*

to

to Lewdneſs. He was, indeed, ambitious; every Action of his Life ſhews it: But his Ambition was of that kind, which as much deſerves our Praiſe, as its Oppoſite does our Blame; was always entirely free from Haughtineſs and Oſtentation, and was grounded upon the moſt juſt and reaſonable Principles; ſince he aim'd at being great, only that he might do good, that he might relieve oppreſs'd Nations, and curb the exorbitant Power of the grand Enemy to the Liberties of Europe. *His Preferments, as well at Court, as in the Cabinet and Field, were ſo gradual, and ſo long foreſeen, that he was the leſs envied, as they were look'd upon as the juſt Rewards of his Merit. With Reſpect to Party, he was by Education and Inclination a ſtaunch Friend to the eſtabliſh'd Church, and by Reaſon and Principle firmly attach'd to the Proteſtant Succeſſion: And as his Principles inclined him to ſide with the Whigs, ſo his Moderation led him to favour the Diſſenters.*

BUT let us now conſider him in his two moſt eſſential Characters: I mean thoſe of a Soldier *and a* Stateſman. *As a* SOLDIER, *he was always a Man of the moſt ſtrict Honour, punctual, vigilant, indefatigable, and of a firm and ſteady Reſolution. Before he arrived to the Degree of a General, he had a Courage of the moſt keen and enterprizing Sort, not free from a too great Eagerneſs of running into Danger, and in the moſt perilous Encounters, he always ſhew'd a moſt extraordinary Chearfulneſs. When he was raiſed to the Command of an Army, he was*

always ready to expoſe his Perſon, as far as Neceſſity, and even farther, ſometimes, than Prudence, not bore down by a fervent Zeal for the common Good, ſeemed to require, with the ſame Unconcernedneſs, in Regard to himſelf, as before. He ſpared neither Pains nor Coſts to get Intelligence, notwithſtanding all his Enemies have invented to his Prejudice: For nothing is more evident, than that without this it would have been impoſſible, to be ever ſucceſsful. When but young in this high Command, a great Prince and experienced General was pleaſed to ſay of him; That he ſaw into the Arts of a General, more in one Day, than others did in a great many Years. *In the Day of Battle, he gave his Orders, with all the Clearneſs and Compoſedneſs imaginable, leading on his Troops without the leaſt Hurry or Perturbation, and rallying thoſe Troops that were diſordered, without thoſe harſh and ſevere Reproaches, which rather damp than animate the Soldier's Courage. He had an excellent Talent, firſt in diſcerning, and then in purſuing Advantages upon his Enemy: And he conſtantly went on, from Conqueſt to Conqueſt, in one uninterrupted Series of Succeſs; every Step he advanced being a Kingdom, a Province, or, at leaſt, a City ſubdued. But what was as extraordinary, as it was Praiſe-worthy, amidſt the Horrours of the Field, Humanity had ever a Place in his Mind. He always endeavour'd to reſtrain the Slaughter, which uſually attends Victory, and never expreſs'd a greater Satisfaction, than when the Circumſtances of Things would admit*

admit of his ſparing the Lives of the Conquered. He never forfeited his Word or his Promiſe; but was a ſtrict Obſerver of Juſtice, which he practic'd moſt deliberately where he had the greateſt Opportunity of doing wrong. He ſecured the Affections of his Soldiers by his Good Nature, *Care for their Proviſions, and Vigilance not to expoſe them to unneceſſary Danger; and gain'd thoſe of his Officers by his Affability: Both one and the other followed him to Action, with ſuch a Chearfulneſs, Reſolution, and Unanimity, as were ſure Preſages of Succeſs. A certain Joy and eager Impatience, which it would be difficult to expreſs, viſibly appeared in their Countenances, whenever he was at their Head, and a Proſpect offered, of engaging under his auſpicious Conduct: As on the other Hand, they were never more dejected, than when any unforeſeen Accident diſappointed their Expectations: But when they did fight under their* GREAT LEADER, *never did the* Macedonian Phalanx, *nor the* Roman Legion, *ſhew greater Intrepidity and Reſolution.' May I be allowed to add to all this, that an exemplary Piety, and ſtrict Morality, which he not only practiced himſelf, but endeavour'd to inculcate throughout his whole Army, were undoubtedly ſuch Grounds for an Aſſurance of a Bleſſing from Heaven, on his Endeavours, in a juſt Cauſe, as could not but greatly ſtrengthen his Reſolution, and excite a true and Chriſtian Courage in, at leaſt, the thinking Part of his whole Army.*

WHAT an Officer of Note has ſaid, on this Part of our General's *Behaviour, is worthy Ob-*

ſervation. His own Example *(ſays he)* gave a particular Life to his Orders, and as no indecent Expreſſion ever dropp'd from his Lips, ſo he was imitated by the genteel Part of the Army. His Camps were like a quiet and well-govern'd City, and, perhaps, much more mannerly. Curſing, Swearing, and Bluſtering were never heard among thoſe who were reckon'd good Officers, and his Army was, beyond all Contradiction, the beſt Academy in the World, to teach a young Gentleman Wit and Breeding, a Sot and a Drunkard being what they ſcorn'd. The poor Soldiers, who were (too many of them) the Refuſe and Dregs of the Nation, became, after one or two Campaigns, by the Care of their Officers, and by good Order and Diſcipline, tractable, civil, orderly, ſenſible, and clean, and had an Air and a Spirit above the Vulgar. The Service of GOD, according to the Order of the eſtabliſhed Church, was ſtrictly enjoined by the Duke's ſpecial Care. In all fix'd Camps, every Morning and Evening were Prayers; and on *Sundays* were Sermons both in the Field and in Garriſons. *It is farther memorable, and a corroborating Proof of what I ſaid before; That he was ſo great a Diſcourager of Vice, as to give particular Directions to the Provoſt-Marſhal, to chaſe away all lewd Women from about his Quarters; and before a Battle, the Chaplains of the ſeveral Regiments, by his eſpecial Order, performed Divine Service, as alſo after a Victory obtained, ſolemn Thankſgiving was obſerved throughout the whole Army.*

TO

TO conclude our Hero's *Character as a* General, *I ſhall only add what has been ſaid of him in Compariſon with other great Generals of his Time. The Prince of* Vaudemont, *before our General had long wielded the Staff of Command, obſerved of him: That there was ſomething in him that was inexpreſſible: For* (ſaid he, ſpeaking to King William) *the* Fire of Kirk, *the* Thought of Lanier, *the* Skill of Mackay, *and the* Bravery of Colcheſter, *ſeem to be united in his Perſon: And I have loſt my Knowledge in Phyſiognomy, which hitherto never deceived me, if any Subject your Majeſty has, can ever attain to ſuch military Glory, as this* Combination of ſublime Perfections *muſt, one Day, advance him to.*

AS a STATESMAN, *he managed great Variety of Buſineſs, either alone, or in Concert with the Prime Miniſter, with the greateſt Dexterity, Eaſe, and Sufficiency. He never was ſupercilious or over-bearing in Council; but could ſuffer Contradiction without Paſſion, and always endeavour'd, where he thought he had Reaſon to perſiſt in his Opinion, to bring over others, by cool, but convincing Arguments. He made uſe of few Words, but rarely ſpoke in vain; and tho' he was not the greateſt Maſter of Oratory, yet in important Debates, he expreſs'd himſelf very pertinently; and, by his Temper and Reſervedneſs, he always maintain'd the Reputation of a wiſe Man. What greater Teſtimony can we have of his Capacity, than that given him by King* William, *when upon delivering the Duke of* Glouceſter *to his Care, as Governour, he ſaid:* My Lord, teach him to be what you are, and

my Nephew can't want Accompliſhments. *And with all this, he had an uncommon Talent of inſinuating himſelf, and gaining upon the Minds of thoſe he dealt with: Of which, I think, there can be no greater Inſtance, than the Influence he always had over that wiſe Body, the Aſſembly of the* States General; *and tho' he was once ſo ſtrongly oppoſed by their Field-Deputies, that a grand Enterprize was thereby fruſtrated, yet the* States *diſavow'd their Conduct, and gave his Grace the utmoſt Satisfaction he deſired.*

IF we will, to conclude theſe Parts of this Great Man's *Character, unite the* Soldier *and the* Stateſman, *we may juſtly ſay; That no* General *ever commanded Troops of ſo many different Nations, with more Eaſe, nor was ever any Politician more ſucceſsful in the moſt weighty and arduous Negociations. His wiſe and ſucceſsful Management, as well of Civil as Military Affairs, with the Aſſiſtance of his Friend, the Lord* Godolphin, *in the former, raiſed the Reign of Queen* Ann *to a higher Pitch of Glory, than any that ſtands recorded in our* Engliſh *Annals.*

I MUST not finiſh this Sketch of a Character hardly to be parallel'd, without repeating the Words of the Great and Glorious King William, *which he is reported to have ſaid on his Death-Bed,* viz. *That* the Duke *(then Earl)* of *Marlborough*, was the fitteſt Perſon in all his Dominions, to conduct his Succeſſor's Armies, and to preſide in her Councils; as he was a Man of a cool Head, and warm Heart, pro-

per

per to encounter the *Genius* of *France*, and ſuppreſs her Deſigns of ſwallowing all *Europe*. *This almoſt prophetick Character, from ſo excellent a Judge, might ſeem the greateſt Elogy, that could be beſtowed on our* Hero; *were it not, that in another Reſpect, what was moſt true of the Duke of* Marlborough, *cannot, I believe, be ſaid of any other General, either ancient or modern,* viz. That in twenty Campaigns, ten of which were ſucceſſive, he paſſed all the Rivers and Lines he attempted, took all the Towns he inveſted, won all the Battles he fought, (this often with inferiour, rarely with ſuperiour Force,) was never ſurpriz'd by his Enemy, nor charg'd with one Action of Cruelty, was ever beloved by his own Soldiers, and dreaded by thoſe of his Enemy. *To conclude, our Hero had Room to ſay, what* Cicero *tells us* Julius Cæſar *ſaid:* Se ſatis vel ad Naturam, vel ad Gloriam vixiſſe. *(He had lived to be ſatisfied with his Share of Life and Glory.) He died in a good old Age, bleſs'd with Peace, Wealth, and Glory, the greateſt Subject of his Time in* Chriſtendom, *whom five ſucceſſive Monarchs of* Great Britain *employ'd in their Armies and Councils, and delighted to honour. His* Heroick *Deeds were Cauſe of Admiration to all* Europe, *and the Memory of them will be eternized in the Records of Fame.*

THIS, I ſay, may ſerve as a Sketch of our ILLUSTRIOUS HERO'S Character, *'till a more able Pen ſhall undertake to finiſh the beautiful Piece. For the accompliſhing of which, in the*

Reading the following Sheets, he will find ſuch Plenty of noble Images ariſe, to fire his Imagination, as will be more than ſufficient to employ his utmoſt Skill. To point out, however, ſome Paſſages, more eſpecially proper for this End, he will here find the Characters given this Great Man, by a Number of the moſt Illuſtrious Perſonages and Bodies of the Age he lived in. He will particularly ſee thoſe given him by three ſucceſſive Emperours, Leopold, Joſeph, *and his preſent* Imperial *Majeſty* Charles VI. *by King* William, *and Queen* Ann, *by* Lewis XIV. *of* France, *and* Charles *the* XIIth *of* Sweden; *By the* Elector *of* Bavaria, *and ſeveral other Sovereign Princes of the* Empire; *by the* States General, *their Deputies, and the Grand Penſionary* Heinſius; *by Prince* Lewis *of* Baden, *Prince* Eugene, *the Princes of* Vaudemont *and* Waldeck; *by the* Parliaments *of* England *and* Great Britain, *in divers Addreſſes to the Throne, and in ſeveral Congratulations and Thanks directed to himſelf; by the City of* London, *and many other Cities and Corporations; by the Marſhal* de Turenne, *and the Marquis* de Leſdiquieres, *by the Duke of* Monmouth, *by the Biſhops of* Ely, *St.* Aſaph, *and* Saliſbury, *and by many others.*

IT is hardly poſſible to conceive how a greater and more noble Monument of Glory, can be raiſed to the Memory of any One of Human Race, than a judicious Combination of all theſe Characters is capable of producing.

I SHALL not ſwell this Preface, or foreſtall the Reader's Curioſity, by enumerating the great and

and glorious Scenes, which the Life of our Hero *will naturally, and without deviating, in the leaſt from my Subject, open to his View: It may ſuffice to ſay, in general here, that the Reign of Queen* Ann, *which comprizes at leaſt ſeven Parts in eight of the following Sheets, was as fertile of great and glorious Events, in moſt of which our* Hero *had a large, or the largeſt Share, as any Reign ſince that great and remarkable Epoch of* Engliſh *Hiſtory, the Conqueſt. Here we ſee a* Grand Alliance *formed, with the Deſign of curbing the exorbitant Power of* France, *and wreſting* Spain *and the* Spaniſh Weſt-Indies *out of the Hands of the Houſe of* Bourbon; *A War in Conſequence of that* Alliance, *full of the moſt extraordinary Events, and attended with ſuch glorious Actions and Succeſſes, as no Hiſtory, Ancient or Modern, can parallel: But as even this Glorious Reign had its Change of Scenes, ſo we, likewiſe, ſee, that after all this Succeſs and Glory, acquired by the* Britiſh *Arms, when the Houſe of* Bourbon *was reduced to the loweſt Ebb, and ready to give all or more than we had fought for: Under theſe happy Circumſtances, I ſay, we ſhall ſee the Decorations ſhifted, and, by what extraordinary Accidents I ſhall not determine, the great Duke of* Marlborough, *who, under* God, *was the glorious Inſtrument of all this Happineſs, after all his Victories and Triumphs, diſgraced, the Duke of* Ormond *ſent, unexpectedly, and againſt the Advice and Opinion of the greater Part of the* High Allies, *to publiſh a Ceſſation of Arms, the* Grand Alliance *thereupon broken, and* Spain,

with

with the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, *for which ſo much Blood and Treaſure had been expended, left, or rather formally given up, to the Houſe of* Bourbon; *And, as a Conſequence of this Change, we ſhall laſtly ſee* Great Britain *a Suitor to* France *for a much worſe Peace than ſhe had ever the Aſſurance to offer; When, but a few Months before, we might have given Laws to our Enemies, and have ſettled the Balance of the Power of* Europe, *on ſo firm and laſting a Foundation, as could not ſo eaſily have been ſhaken. Theſe, I ſay, are ſome of the Great Events, which the Reader will find faithfully and circumſtantially related, in the following Sheets; All which, with many more, have an immediate Relation, and properly belong, to* The LIFE of JOHN Duke of MARLBOROUGH, *&c.*

THE

THE

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THE

BOOK I.

THE LIFE OF JOHN, Duke of *Marlborough*, &c. &c.

THE ILLUSTRIOUS *and* EVER-VICTORIOUS HERO, whose *Genealogy* I am about to display, was equally conspicuous for his *Great* and *Memorable Actions*, by which he justly merited those High Honours he attained to, and for his *Noble Descent*, from as ILLUSTRIOUS ANCESTORS, who were of the best Blood of *France*, and re[illegible]ng before the *Norman Conquest*.

A GERMAN *Panegyriſt*, who attempted an Epitome of the Life of this Great Man, ſoon after the Battle of *Hochſtadt*, pretended to give ſome Account of his Progenitors, for above 200 Years before this famous Period: But, as he grounds his Relations upon his own Authority only, and I do not find them corroborated, by any Hiſtorian or Genealogiſt of Note: And, beſides, ſeveral Circumſtances have pretty much the Appearance of being fabulous, and calculated for his Purpoſe, I ſhall not venture to follow him; but ſhall limit my Account to that Time, and to thoſe Circumſtances, in which the beſt Hiſtorians, *Engliſh* and *Foreign* are agreed.

Gitto de Leon.

GITTO DE LEON, one of our *Hero*'s Anceſtors, is allowed, at all Hands, to have been famous in *Normandy*, in the Year 1055. in the Regency of Duke *William* (afterwards King of *England*) eleven Years before he invaded this Kingdom.

Wandrill de Leon, *Lord of* Courcil.

THIS *Gitto de Leon* had two Sons, *Richard de Leon*, Lord of *Montalban*, and *Wandrill de Leon*, Lord of *Courcil*. *Richard*, the eldeſt, married *Yoland*, Counteſs of *Luxemburg*, and, by her, had Iſſue, *Claud de Leon*, Anceſtor of the preſent noble Family of *Leon*, in *France*. *Wandrill*, his ſecond Son, married *Iſabella de Tuya*, by whom he had two Sons, *Roger de Courcil*, and *Rouland de Courcil*, which latter was the Anceſtor of the *Courcils* of *Poictou*, from whom the *Courcils* of *Normandy* and *Anjou* are deſcended.

Roger de Courcil.

ROGER DE COURCIL, the elder Son of *Wandrill*, was our *Hero*'s Anceſtor, from whom he was lineally deſcended, as the Reader will ſee below. *Roger* was one of thoſe, who attended *William* Duke of *Normandy*, when he invaded this

this Kingdom, in the Year 1066. And, as a Reward for his Services, *William* (generally called *the Conqueror)* when he had made himſelf King of *England*, aſſigned him divers Lands in *Sommerſetſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, and *Devonſhire*, as appears by *Doomſday-Book*.

So our *Genealogiſts* give it; but it ſhould probably be *Wiltſhire* inſtead of *Devonſhire*; for ſo we find it in an Epitome of *Doomſday-Book* (*Liber Domus Dei)* in the *Cotton Library*, written in *Camden*'s own Hand-writing, as follows:

Fol. 28. *Wilteſchire.*	*Rog. de Curcelle* tenet de Rege *Fiſertone.*
—— 32. *Dorſete.*	*Rog. de Curcelle* tenet de Rege *Corſtone.*
—— 35. *Sumerſete.*	*Rog. de Curcelle* tenet de Rege Curi, *Nuventone*, *Hateware*, *Peri*, *Cerdeſlinge*, *Curiepot*, *Limintone.*
—— 80. *Sciropſcire.*	*Rog. de Curcelle* tenet de *Rog.* Comite *Sudtone*, *Tetbriſtone*, *Edeſlai*, *Dodetune*, *Stile.*

Of theſe Lands, the Lordſhip of *Churchill* in *Sommerſetſhire*, which took its Name from him, was Part, and by him choſen for his Abode, as appears by ancient Records, in which it is written *Curichil*, *Cheurchil*, *Cherchile*, *&c.* in different Records. They are plainly miſtaken, who ſay the Family took its Name from this Place of their Abode; ſince, as the Reader has ſeen above, it had the Surname of *Courcil*, from the Lordſhip of *Courcil* in *France*, long before. Which is farther confirmed by an an-

cient Epitaph, which I ſhall give the Reader below.

THIS *Roger* married *Gertrude*, Daughter of Sir *Guy de Torbay*, by whom he had Iſſue three Sons. (1) *John de Courcil*, (or *Curichil*) (2.) *Hugh Fitz-Roger*, Lord of *Corfeton*, in *Dorſetſhire*, who married the Siſter and Heireſs of —— *Bond*, Lord of *Fiſherton*, and his Poſterity taking the Surname of the Family of *Bond*, bore their Arms, *viz. Sable, a Feſs Or.* (3.) *Roger Fitz-Roger*, who married *Mabel*, Heireſs of the Family of *Solariis*, whoſe Son, *Roger*, and his Poſterity, bore the Name of *Solariis* or *Solers.*

John de Courcil, *or* Curichil.

JOHN DE COURCIL (or *Curichil*) the eldeſt Son of *Roger*, married *Joan de Kilrington*, by whom he had Iſſue Sir *Bartholomew de Cherchile*, a great Warriour, and renowned in ancient Songs. In the twelfth Century, he held the Caſtle of *Briſtol* for King *Stephen*, and died fighting in that King's Cauſe. That he was a Man of great Proweſs, we may ſee by the following Epitaph.

Who comon here into this Iſle,
Pray ye for the Spirit
Of good Sir Barthol *de* Cherchile,
That moſt renowned Knight;
Arrayed, in ſooth, as he was,
With Tabard in Faſhion,
A Sword bright as his burn'd Braſs,
And eke a light Gipion.
Into the Battail for to fight,
He then did make his Way;
Ne was there founden any Wight,
So ſtout as might him ſtay:
But as midſt Gleves began to thrike
And Gliſames thick eft ſoone,
He felt, I wis, a deadly Prick,
That pierc'd his Heart too ſoon. That

Now failed been his Sprive and Breath,
And dusken been his Eye,
Wo worth that while, that in geud Faith,
Tis certes he mought dye.
Wi booteth it he was ſo good,
They left tholk Field,
Where thick then his deareſt Life-Blood
Was, I trou, fouly ſpill'd.
And nigh thick Place, a tyny Ville,
Now ſtandeth, and there is,
Me clypeth it right ſooth Cherchile,
After his Name I wiſs.

SIR *Bartholomew de Cherchile* married *Agnes* the Daughter of *Ralph Fitz-Ralph* of *Tiverton*, by whom he had Iſſue *Pagan de Cherchile*. I do not find who was his Wife, but he had Iſſue *Roger de Cherchile*, ſtiled the Son of *Pagan de Cherchile*, who had free Warren in his Lands of *Cherchile*, in the Reign of King *Edward* I.

Sir Bartholomew de Cherchile.

Pagan de Cherchile.

Roger de Cherchile.

WITH this *Roger*, the Son of *Pagan*, lived contemporary, *Richard de Cherchile*. who An°. 14°. *Edw.* I. was Witneſs to the Agreement made between the Brethren of the Hoſpital of *St. John Baptiſt*, in *Bath*, and *Thomas de Hereford*, one of the Burgeſſes of *Briſtol*, about a Houſe in *Redclive*, in the Suburbs of *Briſtol*, of the Fee of *Berkley*.

WHO was the Wife of *Roger*, I likewiſe, do not find; But his Succeſſor was *Elias de Cherchile*. I find mention made of one *Otho de Churchill*, as a Deſcendant of Sir *Bartholomew de Cherchile*, who was the Founder of a ſpreading Family in *Devonſhire*, *Sommerſetſhire* and *Wiltſhire*; But by him muſt probably be meant this *Elias*, or elſe one of the nine Sons of *John Churchill*, the Son

Elias Cherchi

of *William Churchill* of *Muſton*, Eſq; of whom, I ſhall make farther Mention below. Of this *Elias*, we find, that An°. 8°. *Edw.* II. he granted to *John Bampfield*, his Meadow call'd *Pleynfold*, in *Clifton*. He married *Dorothy*, a Daughter of the antient Family of the *Columbers*, by whom he had Iſſue three Sons. (1.) *John Churchille*, of *Litlar*, of whom we find, that he was Witneſs to a Charter of *Thomas Bampfield*, An°. 5°. *Richardi* II. and who is likewiſe mentioned in another Charter, An°. 11°. *Henry* IV. He married *Jane* (or, as ſome Authors ſay, *Joan*) Daughter and Coheireſs of *Roger Dawny*, of *Norton*, by *Juliana* his Wife, the Daughter and Coheireſs of *William de Widdebere*. He had Iſſue only two Daughters, his Coheireſſes; *Margaret*, the youngeſt, was Wife of *Andrew Hillerſdon*, of *Devonſhire*, and *Agnes*, the eldeſt, Wife of *Thomas Gifford*, of *Thewborough*, in *Cornwal*, who by that Marriage became poſſeſs'd of the Lordſhip of *Churchill*, and other Lands. (2.) *Giles Churchill*, who had the Lordſhips of *Yampton* and *Lineham*, in *Devonſhire*, which Eſtates deſcended, by a Daughter and Heireſs, to the Family of the *Crokers*, of *Devonſhire*, Lords of *Lineham*. Theſe two elder Brothers dying thus without Male-Heirs, (3.) *William*, the third, and youngeſt Son of *Elias*, was the chief Male-Heir, who propagated the Family.

William Churchill, of Rockbear, in *Com.* Dev.

Giles Churchill, *Eſq;*

Charles Churchill, *Eſq;*

THIS *William Churchill* had his Seat at *Rockbear*, in *Devonſhire*. Who his Wife was, I do not find; But he left Iſſue *Giles Churchill*, Eſq; who was Father of *Charles Churchill*, Eſq; This *Charles Churchill* was engaged by——— *Courtney*, Earl of *Devonſhire*, in the C[illegible] of King *Edward* IV. And, when *Thomas Courtney*,

ney, Earl of *Devonſhire*, forſook the Intereſts his Father had eſpouſed, continuing faithful, that Prince took him into his Favour, and advanced his Fortune, by procuring him, in Marriage, *Margaret*, only Daughter and Heireſs of Sir *William Widville*, who brought him a conſiderable Eſtate.

Thomas Churchill, *Eſq;*

BY this *Margaret*, *Charles Churchill* had Iſſue, *Thomas Churchill*, Eſq; who married *Grace*, Daughter and Coheireſs of *Thomas Tylle*, of *Tylle-Houſe*, in *Cornwal*. He was ſucceeded by *William*, his Son and Heir, who married *Mary*, the eldeſt Daughter of *Richard Crueſe*, of *Wicroft-Caſtle*, in *Devonſhire*, Eſq;

William Churchill, *Eſq;*

WILLIAM CHURCHILL had Iſſue, by his Wife *Mary*, three Sons, who divided this Family into as many principal Branches. (1.) *Roger Churchill*, of *Catherſton*, in *Dorſetſhire*, Eſq; (2.) *William Churchill*, of *Corton*, in *Dorſetſhire*, Eſq; And (3.) *John Churchill*, Eſq; who ſettled at *Muſton*, in *Dorſetſhire*, and was Father of *William Churchill*, Eſq; of *Muſton*, aforeſaid, who by laſt Will, dated the twelfth of *March*, 1599, ordered his Body to be buried in *St. Peter's* Church, at *Dorcheſter*, and conſtituted his Son and Heir, *John Churchill*, to be his ſole Executor, and his Brother, *Richard Swain*, and *Thomas Freake*, his Couſin, to be Overſeers; Which *John*, by *Eleanor* his Wife, the Daughter of *John Meller*, of *Kyme*, in *Dorſetſhire*, had Iſſue, nine Sons, and four Daughters, from whom the ſeveral Families of the *Churchills* now exiſting, are deſcended.

Roger Churchill, Eſq; *of* Catherſton, *Com.* Dorſ.

ROGER CHURCHILL, of *Catherſton*, in *Dorſetſhire*, Eſq; above-mentioned, the eldeſt Son of *William Churchill*, married *Jane*, the Widow of *Nicholas Megg*, and Daughter of *William*

liam Peverell of *Bradford*, by whom, he had Iſſue, *Matthew Churchill*, of *Bradford*, Eſq; who married *Alice*, the Daughter of *James Gould*, of *Dorcheſter*; and had Iſſue, by her, *Jaſpar Churchill* of *Bradford*, Eſq. This *Jaſpar* had to Wife, *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of *John Chaplet*, of *Herringſton*, in *Dorſetſhire*, Eſq; and had Iſſue, by her, two Sons. (1.) *John Churchill*, Eſq; his Heir, and (2.) *Jaſpar Churchill*, Eſq; which latter was Father of Sir *John Churchill*, Lord of *Churchill*, in *Sommerſetſhire*, an eminent Counſel, in the Reign of King *Charles* II. who, by his Wife, *Suſan*, Daughter of *Edmund Prideaux*, Eſq; left only four Daughters, Coheireſſes, and ſo this Branch is extinct.

Matthew Churchill *of* Bradford, *Eſq*; Jaſpar Churchill *of* Bradford, *Eſq*;

JOHN CHURCHILL, Eſq; aforeſaid, the eldeſt Son and Heir of *Jaſpar Churchill*, the Elder, was of the Society of the *Middle-Temple*, and, by his great Proficiency in the Study of the Laws, conſiderably augmented his Eſtate. He had his Seat, at *Mintern* (*Mynturn*, or *Minthorn*) in *Dorſetſhire*, and married *Sarah*, the Daughter and Coheireſs of Sir *Henry Winſton*, of *Standiſton*, in *Glouceſterſhire*, and of his Wife, *Dioniſe*, Daughter and Coheireſs of Sir *Thomas Bond* Knight.

John Churchill, Eſq; *of* Minthorn, *Com.* Dorſ.

THIS *John Churchill* was Father of *Winſton Churchill*, of *Wootton-Baſſet*, in *Wiltſhire*; He was born at *Wotton-Glanville*, in the County of *Dorſet*, in 1620. and, having made an early Proficiency in Learning, was ſent in 1636. before he had fully attained to the Age of Sixteen, to *St. John*'s College in *Oxford*, where he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf, in a very particular Manner, and beyond what could be expected, at his Age, by his Sedateneſs, and great Application to his Studies: But, 'the Circumſtances

Sir Winſton Churchill, *Father of* John Churchill, *late Duke of* Marlborough, *&c.*

ſtances of his Affairs ſoon requiring his Perſonal Care, he was obliged to leave the Univerſity before he had taken any Degree. Some Time after, he married *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of Sir *John Drake*, of *Aſhe*, in *Devonſhire*, and of *Eleanor*, his Wife, ſecond Daughter and Coheireſs of *John*, Lord *Boteler*, of *Bramfield*, in *Hertfordſhire*, by *Elizabeth*, his Wife, ſiſter of *George Villiers*, Duke of *Buckingham*, the great Favourite of King *James* I. and King *Charles* I. During the Civil Wars, Mr. *Churchill* (afterwards Sir *Winſton*) adhering to the King, was ſo great a Sufferer for His Cauſe, that his Lady was obliged to retire, and live, for ſome Years, at *Aſhe*, her Father's Seat, where among others of her Children, ſhe happily bore her ſecond Son, JOHN, *the Glory of this Nation, and the Admiration of all* Europe, whoſe Heroick Actions will furniſh Subject for the greater Part of the following Sheets. Some Accounts ſay, all her Children were born at *Aſhe*; But as the Diſcuſſion of that Point is not ſo very material to our preſent Purpoſe, I paſs it by.

AFTER Mr. *Winſton Churchill* had cleared his Eſtate, he ſtood Candidate, and was returned, for the Borough of *Weymouth*, in *Dorſetſhire*, to the firſt *Parliament* after the Reſtoration, which met the eighth of *May*, 1661. On the Eſtabliſhment of the Royal-Society, he was one of the firſt Fellows, and, in the Year 1663. King *Charles* knighted him. In the Year 1664. he, with Sir *Richard Rainsford*, Sir *Thomas Beverley*, Sir *Edward Deering*, Sir *Edw. Smith*, Sir *Allen Broderick*, and Colonel *Cook*, were appointed Commiſſioners of the Court of Claims, in *Ireland*, with Power to hear and adjudge the

the Qualifications of thoſe who had forfeited their Eſtates, where, at ſeveral Meetings, in the Months of *February*, *March*, *April* and *May*, they decided ſix Hundred and thirty Claims.

SIR *Winſton*, at his Return from *Ireland*, was appointed one of the Clerks Comptrolers of the *Green Cloth*, from which, indeed, he was removed in 1678. But was, ſoon after, reſtored to that Employ again, and was the eldeſt of thoſe Clerks Comptrolers at King *Charles*'s Death, in which he was alſo continued by King *James* II. In the Year 1675. he publiſhed a Book, entitl'd *Divi Britannici*, being *Remarks upon the Lives of all the Kings of this Iſle, from A. M.* 2855. *to A. C.* 1660. which he dedicated to King *Charles* II. In King *James* II. Reign, he ſerved in *Parliament*, for the Borough of *Lynn Regis*; He died the ſix and twentieth of *March*, 1668. and was buried in the Pariſh Church of St. *Martin's in the Fields*, in *Weſtminſter*; Having, on Account of his ſignal Loyalty, and the particular Services he had done the Crown, been in great Favour with King *Charles* II. and King *James* II. But what will hand down his Merit to the lateſt Poſterity, is, his being *Father to the moſt Renowned Soldier and Hero, that this, or perhaps any other Age has produced.*

Winſton Churchill, *Brother of* John Churchill, *late Duke of* Marlborough, &c.

THIS Sir *Winſton Churchill* had Iſſue, by his Lady, *Elizabeth*, ſeven Sons, and four Daughters.

(1.) WINSTON CHURCHILL, who died young.

John *late D. of* Marlb. *&c.*

(2.) JOHN CHURCHILL, late Duke of *Marlborough*, Prince of the *Empire*, &c.

George Churchill, *Eſq;* Brother of John Churchill, *late D. of* Marlb.

(3.) GEORGE CHURCHILL, born at *Aſhe*, in *Devonſhire*, the nine and twentieth of *February*, 1653. He took Delight in the *Military* [illegible] from his Youth, and gained Applauſe by [illegible] Services,

Services, as well by Land as by Sea, in the Reigns of King *Charles* II. and King *James* II. He was bred, however, to the Sea-Service, became a Captain of a Man of War, and ſerv'd with great Reputation. He was in great Eſteem and Favour with Prince *George* of *Denmark*, whom he ſerved upwards of twenty Years, as Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber. He was Member of King *James* II. firſt *Parliament*, which met the nineteenth of *May*, 1685. for the Borough of *St. Albans*, and ſerved for that Place, in every *Parliament*, till his Deceaſe, excepting the laſt, when he ſerved for *Portſmouth*. In King *William*'s Reign, he firſt commanded a Squadron, in 1689. on the Coaſts of *Ireland*; And in 1692. he behaved with great Conduct, Bravery, and Preſence of Mind, under Admiral *Ruſſel*, when the *French* Fleet was totally routed, put to Flight, and a great Part of it burnt, at *Cherbourg* and *La Hogue*; Being then Commander of the *St. Andrew*, a ſecond Rate.

In the Year 1699. that King conſtituted him one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty; In which Poſt he continued, 'till the Spring of the Year 1702. when King *William*, a little before his Death, conſtituted the Earl of *Pembroke* Lord High Admiral. Queen *Ann* appointed him Admiral of the *Blue Squadron* of her Majeſty's Fleet, and named him to be one of the Council of His Royal Highneſs, Prince *George* of *Denmark*, as Lord High Admiral of *England*, *&c.* He became afterwards Admiral of the *White*, and, for a little while, Commander of the Fleet in Chief, during the Ma[illegible]ſition of Sir *George Rooke*. Upon the Death of the Prince, in 1708. his Council's Com-

Commiſſion ended with him: Whereupon Mr. *Churchill* retired from Buſineſs, to which his ill State of Health, labouring frequently under violent Fits of the Gout, in a great Meaſure induced him. He was not alone diſtinguiſh'd by his Valour and Conduct, as a Commander; But, in his Private Life, by his Piety, Humanity, Generoſity, and Courteous Behaviour. He diſcharged all his profitable Employments, with ſo much Honour, Integrity and Diſintereſtedneſs, that, at his Death, he left but a very inconſiderable Eſtate. He was very eaſy of Acceſs, and always ready to do what Offices of Friendſhip were in his Power, to thoſe who deſerved them. He died unmarried, the eighth of *May*, 1710. at the Age of ſeven and fifty Years, two Months, and nine Days, and lies buried in the South Iſle of *Weſtminſter-Abby*, where a Marble Monument is erected to his Memory, with the following Inſcription.

P. S. E.

GEORGIUS CHURCHILL,
Winſtonii Equitis Aurati ex Agro *Dorceſtrienſi*
filius natu ſecundus:
Invictiſſimi Ducis *Marlburii*
frater non indignus.

A primâ juventute Militiæ nomen dedit,
Et ſub Regibus *Carolo* et *Jacobo*
terrâ mariq;
multâ cum laude meruit.
Sereniſſimo Principi *Georgio* de *Daniâ*
Per Viginti plus annos à Cubiculis
fide, obſequio, moribus
Gratum ſe reddidit et Charum.

Reg-

Regnante *Gulielmo*,
Quo die claſſis Gallica ab Anglis
Ad oras Neuſtriæ fugata et combuſta eſt
(Die ſemper memorabili)
Eo Animi vigore et fortitudine pugnavit,
Quo Ducem *Anglum* decuit.
Mox ab eodem Rege,
æquiſſimo meritorum Judice,
Unus e Commiſſariis Admiralliæ conſtitutus,
res maritimas, quarum erat peritiſſimus,
Curavit diu, et Ornavit.
Sub fœliciſſimo demum ANNÆ imperio,
Inſtaurato iterum Bello contra Gallos
Infeſtiſſimos hoſtes *Britanni* Nominis,
ex Admirallis unus,
et Celſiſſimo Principi *Daniæ*
Magno totius *Britanniæ* Admirallo
factus è conſiliis,
Curarum omnium et laborum particeps
Domino ſuo
fœliciſſimam navabat operam:
Donec fractæ *Gallorum* vires
toto mari ceſſerant.
Inde principis optimi lateri adhærens
Ad extremum uſq; diem
Omnia grati piiq; animi officia
perſolvit.
Laboribus tandem et morbis confectus
Inter amplexus et lacrymas
Amicorum, Clientum, et Servorum,
Quos, humanus, officioſus, liberalis,
Gratos, devinctos et fideles habuit,
Pius, tranquillus, animoſus, cœlebs.
Obiit VIII. Maii, &c.
Ætat. LVIII.
MDCCX.

Charles Churchill, *Esq*; *Brother of* John Churchill, *late* D. *of* Marlb. &c.

(4.) CHARLES CHURCHILL was born at *Aſhe*, the ſecond of *February*, 1656. He was likewiſe bred to Arms, and was noted for ſeveral brave Actions. At thirteen Years of Age, he was made Page of Honour to *Chriſtian*, King of *Denmark*; and, at ſixteen, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to his Brother Prince *George*. At the Revolution, he ſucceeded Major-General *Oglethorp*, in his Regiment of Foot, and in 1692. at the Battle of *Steenkirk*, *Auguſt* 23. he was Brigadier-General. The Brigade under his Command behaved bravely, as they did, likewiſe, the Year following, at the Battle of *Landen*, where he himſelf gave the greateſt Proofs of his Courage and Conduct, in the Defenſe of the Villages of *Lare* and *Neder Winden*, and where he took his Nephew, the Duke of *Berwick*, Priſoner. He died A°. 1714. and was interred in the Pariſh-Church of *Minthorn*, in *Dorſetſhire*, where a Monument is erected to his Memory, with the following Inſcription, which will ſupply what I have omitted above.

NEAR this Place, lies interred the Body of Charles Churchill, *Eſq*; *fourth Son of Sir* Winſton Churchill, *of the County of* Dorſet, *Knight.*

HE was, at the Age of Thirteen, made Page of Honour to Chriſtian, *King of* Denmark, *and, at ſixteen, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to his Brother, the renowned Prince* George.

HIS Martial Genius led him to the Wars, and his diſtinguiſh'd Courage and Conduct made him ſoon taken Notice of by his Prince. He was made Major-General of Foot, and Governor of KINGSALE *in* IRELAND, *by King* WILLIAM, *and, after many Battles fought, with great Bravery and Conduct, was eſteemed one of the beſt Commanders of Foot in* EUROPE.

BY his Royal and Gracious Miſtreſs, Queen ANN, *he was made Governor of the* TOWER *of* LONDON, *General of the Army, and General in chief of Foot, and had a great and honourable Share in the memorable Battle of* BLENHEIM: *After which, for his many and great Services, he was made Governor of* BRUSSELS, *Colonel of the the* COLDSTREAM *Regiment of Foot-Guards, and Governor of Her Majeſty's Iſland of* GUERNSEY.

IN the Year 1702. *he married* Mary, *Daughter and ſole Heireſs of* James Goulde, *of* DORCHESTER, *Eſq; who, in Honour of his beloved Memory, cauſed this Monument to be erected.*

HIS known Bravery, generous Spirit, and friendly Temper, made him eſteemed and beloved by all that knew him.

AND his unalterable Affection for the Church, his Fidelity to the Crown, and Love of his Country, have juſtly recommended him to ETERNITY.

HE died, much lamented, the nine and twentieth of December, 1714, *in the eight and fiftieth Year of his Age.*

HIS Lady, who had no Iſſue by him, married again in *February*, 1716-17. to *Mountague Venables Bertie*, Earl of *Abington*.

(5.) MONTJOY CHURCHILL, died in his Youth, as did likewiſe,

(6.) JASPAR CHURCHILL.

Montjoy *and* Jaſpar Churchill, *Brothers of* John Churchill, *late D. of* Marlb.

(7.) THEOBALD CHURCHILL had his Academical Education in *Queen*'s *College*, in *Oxford*, where he commenced Maſter of Arts, *June* 13. 1683. and, entering into Holy Orders, died unmarried *December* 3. 1685. and was buried in the Pariſh Church of St. *Martin*'s *in the Fields* in *Weſtminſter*.

Theobald Churchill, *Brother of* John Churchill, *late D. of* Marlb.

(8.) ARABELLA

Arabella Churchill, *Siſter of* John Churchill, *late D. of* Marlb.

(8.) ARABELLA CHURCHILL, eldeſt Daughter of Sir *Winſton Churchill*, was born at *Aſhe* in *Devonſhire*, in *March*, 1648.

SHE was firſt one of the Maids of Honour to the Ducheſs of *York*, and a Favourite of King *James* II. when Duke of *York*; by whom ſhe had two Sons and two Daughters.

1. JAMES FITZ-JAMES,

His Father created him Duke of *Berwick*, &c. the nineteenth of *March*, 1687. and the thirtieth of *June*, of the ſame Year, he left *Windſor*, and began his Journey for *Hungary*, where he ſerved againſt the *Turks*, as he had done the Year before, and, in particular, ſignaliz'd himſelf at the Battle of *Buda*. He was elected *Knight of the Garter* the 28th of *September*, 1688. But going over to *France* with his Father, and not coming, within a Year, to be inſtalled, his Election was declared void and null. He then ſerved *France* againſt *England*, and was, therefore outlaw'd, in 1695. He was a *Grandee of Spain*, *Marſhal* of *France*, and *Knight of the Golden Fleece*. He had two Wives (1.) *Honora Bourk*, ſecond Daughter of *William Bourk*, Earl of *Clanrickard*, in *Ireland*, to whom he was married in 1695. and who died in *France* in 1698. (2.) *Ann Buckley*, ſecond Daughter of *Henry Buckley*, Eſq; and of his Wife *Sophia Stuart*, Siſter of *Francis*, late Ducheſs of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, to whom he was married in 1700. And who died at St. *Germains*, *Sept.* 6. 1730. He himſelf died in the Bed of Honour, being kill'd by a Cannon Ball, in the Service of *France*, at the Siege of *Philipſburg*, on the *Rhine*, in the Year 1734. being at that Time *Generaliſſimo* of the *French* Army. By his firſt Wife, he left, *James* Duke of *Liria*, who ſtil'd

ſtil'd himſelf Earl of *Tinmouth*, and ſince his Father's Death, Duke of *Berwick*: By his ſecond Wife, *James*, *Henry*, *Francis*, and other Children.

2. HENRY FITZ-JAMES, commonly called the *Grand Prior*, born in 1673. and was outlaw'd with his Brother in 1695. He was Lieutenant-General and Admiral of the *French* Gallies, and died in *France* the ſeventh of *December*, 1702. His Wife was *Mary Gabrielle*, Daughter of the Marquis de *Luſſan*, to whom he was married in 1700. and by whom he had one Daughter, who is dead.

3. HENRIETTA, born in 1670. was married in 1683. to Sir *Henry Waldegrave* of *Chenton*, who was created Lord *Waldegrave* of *Chenton*, the 20th of *January*, 1686. and made Comptroller of the King's Houſhold, the ninth of *February*, 1687. He died at *Paris*, in 1698. and ſhe in 1730. They left Iſſue, two Sons, (1.) *James*, Lord *Waldegrave*, born in 1684. created Earl of *Waldegrave*, and Viſcount *Chenton*, the thirteenth of *September*, 1729. His Wife was *Mary*, Daughter of Sir *John Webb*, of *Hatherop*, Baronet, who died in 1719. and left Iſſue; *James*, born 15 *March*, 1715. *Henrietta*, born 2 *January*, 1717. and *John*, born 28 *April*, 1718. (2.) *Henry Waldegrave*, born 15 *February*, 1688. died unmarried.

4. N. N. a Nun.

SHE was afterwards married to *Charles Godfrey*, Eſq; Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, who ſerved under King *William* in *Flanders*, till the Peace of *Ryſwick*. In the Reign of Queen *Ann*, he was conſtituted Maſter of the *Jewel Office*, and one of the Clerks Comptrollers of the *Green Cloth*. He died, the twenty-third

the twenty third of *February*, 1714. at *Bath*, and left Iſſue, by the ſaid *Arabella*, two Daughters; *Charlotte*, Wife of the Right Honourable *Hugh Boſcawen*, afterwards Lord Viſcount *Falmouth*; and *Elizabeth*, the Wife of *Edmund Dunch*, Eſq; who, on the 6th of *October*, 1708. was appointed Maſter of the Houſhold to her late Majeſty Queen *Ann*.

(9.) DOROTHY; (10.) MARY; and (11.) BARBARA, died all three in their Infancy.

See the Continuation of this Genealogy, at the End of Vol. III.

END *of the Firſt* BOOK.

BOOK

BOOK II.

TRANSACTIONS *during the Reigns of King* CHARLES II. *and King* JAMES II.

CHAP. I.

TRANSACTIONS *during the Reign of King* CHARLES II.

RETURN now to *John Churchill*, who, tho' the ſecond Son of Sir *Winſton Churchill*, as I have ſaid already, was the eldeſt that arrived to Maturity. He was born at *Aſhe*, in the Pariſh of *Muſbury*, in *Devonſhire*, the four and twentieth of *June*, 1650. about Noon, and, two Days after, was baptized, by Mr. *Matthew Drake*, Rector of that Pariſh. He had a liberal and polite Education, in his younger Years, under the immediate Care of his Father, and the

Birth of John Churchill, *afterwards Duke of* Marlborough.

Tuition of a Clergyman of the Church of *England*; who ſo grounded him in the Doctrines, and Principles of that Church, that he ever after ſacrific'd all other Intereſts, when they came in Competition with it; as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel. As he grew up, he became Tall, Handſome, and of a Noble Appearance.

He is brought to Court; And made Page of Honour to the Duke of York.

He was brought young to Court, where his Father got him to be made Page of Honour to His Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*; who, from the firſt Moment of his entring into his Service, teſtified a more than ordinary Favour and Affection for him.

Gets an Enſign's Commiſſion.

He ſoon diſcovered his Martial Diſpoſition, upon which his Father, to humour his Inclination, procured him an Enſign's Commiſſion in the Royal Regiment of Foot Guards; an Honour the Duke of *York* was willing to grant him, to encourage his tow'ring Genius, tho' his Youth, he being then but 16 Years of Age, might otherwiſe have been a Bar to it.

Circumſtances of his obtaining it.

A late Author relates the Circumſtances of our Young *Hero*'s firſt Admiſſion under the Banners of *Mars* in the following Manner: The Duke of *York* (ſays he) who placed his chief Delight in the Exerciſe of Arms, uſed to hold frequent Reviews of the Troops then on Footing; and, in particular, would often, to gratify his *Martial* Inclination, draw out the two Regiments of Foot-Guards, in Order of Battle. Young *Churchill* was very aſſiduous in attending his Royal Maſter at theſe Exerciſes, where he had frequent Opportunities of admiring the Regularity of their Diſcipline, and the Warlike Ardour which appear'd, with the greateſt Luſtre, in all their Actions. This inſpir'd him with a vehement Paſſion to attain

attain to a Knowledge of this Noble Art, and his Royal Highneſs appearing almoſt daily at the Head of ſome Regiment or other, gave him as frequent Occaſion to gratify this growing Paſſion. The Duke ſoon diſcerned this Inclination in his Page, and was charm'd with it; and aſking him one Day, what he ſhould do for him, as the firſt Step to his Fortune, *Churchill* took that Opportunity to throw himſelf at the Prince's Feet, and, with great Earneſtneſs, to beg, he would honour him with a Pair of Colours in the Guards. His Royal Highneſs was extreamly ſatisfied, to find he was not deceiv'd in the Judgment he had form'd of his young Favourite, and, ſoon after, gave him the Poſt he deſired.

HERE he, indeed, learnt the firſt Rudiments of Military Diſcipline; and laid the Groundwork of that Reputation, which was the Wonder of his Time. But his aſpiring Genius being impatient under that Confinement, and eager to be in Action, he laid hold of the firſt Opportunity to ſerve his Country, and embark'd for *Tangier*, where, during the time he was in that Garriſon, he was in ſeveral Skirmiſhes with the *Moors*. *Goes to* Tangier.

SOME attribute our young Soldier's firſt Enterprize to another Cauſe, which I ſhall juſt mention, tho' it does not ſeem to carry much Probability with it. When the Court was at *Oxford*, in 1665. it is ſaid, that the Ducheſs of *York* ſhew'd more than ordinary Kindneſs and Favour to Mr. *Churchill*; inſomuch that the Duke grew jealous of it, and ſought the firſt Opportunity of ſending him abroad. This is the leſs probable, becauſe I never heard the leaſt Inſinuation to the Prejudice of the Ducheſs's

Reputation; and beſides, in 1665. Mr. *Churchill* was but 15 Years of Age.

1672. *Is made a Captain.*

In 1672. the Duke of *Monmouth* gave him a Captain's Commiſſion in his own Regiment in *France*, and he accompany'd the Duke thither; where he ſerved under him, with the 6000 Men, *Engliſh* Troops, which King *Charles* ſent to the Aſſiſtance of *Lewis* XIV. againſt the *Dutch*.

Accompanies the Duke of Monmouth *to aſſiſt the* French *againſt the* Dutch.

A Reaſon Aſſigned for his ſudden Advancement.

Some attribute this ſudden Advancement of Mr. *Churchill*'s Fortune, from an Enſign to the Command of a Company, at once, to a Fit of Jealouſy in King *Charles*, who had diſcovered ſome of his early Intrigues with one of the Royal Miſtreſſes, and embraced this Opportunity of removing him from the beloved Object. I ſhall not pretend to aver this Fact; but certain it is, our young Officer was form'd with all the Advantages imaginable, both of Perſon and Addreſs, to inſpire Love in the tender Breaſts of the Fair Sex; and, like *Mars*, had on his Side, a Heart ſuſceptible of the Charms of a *Venus*. On the other Hand, the Goddeſs could not ſo ſtifle the immoderate Affection ſhe had conceiv'd for her *Adonis*, but that it was viſible to the whole Court; and it is certain ſhe contributed, among many other concurrent Circumſtances, very much to the Celerity of his firſt Advancements. Her Purſe was ever as open to him as her Arms, and as ſhe never grudg'd the firſt to ſupply his Wants, and gratify his Pleaſures; ſo the Height of her Bliſs was to enfold him in the latter. The Royal Diadem had no Luſtre when view'd in Competition with his enſlaving Eyes; nor could ſhe enjoy any Thing with a tolerable *Guſto*, that he was not a Partaker of. We ſhall indeed, rarely find ſo many

many Advantages center in one Perſon, capable of rendering him the Minion of Fortune. The early Favour of his Sovereign, and his Royal Brother, his immediate Protector and Benefactor, a beautiful Siſter, Favourite of the latter, his own Charms of Body and Mind, his graceful Perſon, and winning Deportment, his prudent Behaviour, and laudable Ambition, all co-operated to that one happy End. What a noted Author has ſaid of a nameleſs lovely Youth, may be aptly applied to our young Hero. "He knew (ſays my Author) "punctually how to improve thoſe firſt and "precious Moments of good Fortune, whilſt "yet the Gloſs of Novelty remain'd; whilſt "Deſire was unſated, and Love in the High "Spring-tide of full Delight: Having an "early Forecaſt, a Chain of Thought unuſual "at his Years; a Length of View before "him; not born a Slave to Love, ſo as to "reckon the Poſſeſſion of the charmingſt "Woman of the Court, as the *Zenith* of his "Fortune; but rather as the firſt auſpicious "ruddy Streaks of an early Morning, an "Earneſt to the Meridian of the brighteſt "Day."

THE *French* Army, in which the Troops I mention'd above ſerved, conſiſted, if we may believe Father *Daniel*, of very near 177,000. Men, commanded by the King in Perſon, and, under him, by two of the greateſt Generals of the Age, the Prince of *Conde* and the Marſhal *de Turenne*. This proved of ſingular Advantage to our young Warrior, who had all the Opportunity he could wiſh to gain Experience, and he improved beyond what could have been expected at his Years. This was that me-

1672. morable Campaign, in which the *French* almoſt over-run the *United Provinces* with a Rapidity almoſt beyond Belief, and, in which Mr. *Churchill* was preſent, with the Duke, at the taking *Orſoy*, *Rhineberg*, *Weſel*, *Emerick*, *Doeſburg*, and *Zutphen*, and at the Surrender of *Utrecht*, but particularly at the Siege of *Nimeguen*. This being the only Place that made any great Defence, and it did a very handſome one, under the Command of Monſ. *de Welderen*, it was here he laid the firſt Foundation, for attaining to the Art, which he afterwards poſſeſs'd in the higheſt Perfection, that of beſieging a ſtrong Town in Form. His Behaviour on all Occaſions was ſo extraordinary for his Age, which but juſt exceeded two and twenty, that Fortune, which never after forſook him, recommended him to the Favour of the Marſhal *de Turenne*, who took particular Notice of him; and beſides the Honour done him in commending his Conduct, paid him a Compliment, and diſtinguiſh'd him by the Title of the *Handſome Engliſhman*; by which Name he was long known throughout the whole Army.

He behaves bravely at the taking of ſeveral Places; and particularly Nimeguen.

Is very much honour'd by the Marſhal de Turenne.

Is very aſſiduous to deſerve it.

MR. CHURCHILL was, upon all Occaſions, very aſſiduous to deſerve theſe diſtinguiſhing Marks of the Favour of ſo great a General; and it was under this renowned *French* Officer, that he learned the Art of ſubduing the *French* Nation, which he ſo often, and with ſo great Succeſs, put in Practice afterwards. But it was not only at the Head of his own Company that he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf; when that had no Call to be in Action, he was preſent at every Enterprize of Difficulty and Danger, as a Volunteer. Nothing was ſo deſperate,

deſperate, nor ſo apparently given over, but what his Courage and Conduct knew how to repair; of which Monſ. *Rouſſet* gives us a memorable Inſtance: "A certain *French* Lieu- "tenant-Colonel, being commanded to defend "a Paſs, was ſo diſheartened at the Approach "of a Detachment of the *Dutch*, which was "ſent to attack it, that he immediately "quitted his Poſt. Advice being brought of "it to Monſ. *de Turenne*, he turn'd to another "General who ſtood near him, and offered to "lay a Wager, *that his Handſome* Engliſhman "*ſhould retake the Paſs with half the Number* "*of Men the other had loſt it:* And he was "not deceived in his Opinion; Captain *Chur-* "*chill* regain'd the Poſt, won the Marſhal his "*Wager*, and gain'd for himſelf the Applauſe "of the whole Army. 1672. *Performs a brave and memorable Action.*

THE Year following, he again diſtinguiſhed himſelf, at the Siege of *Maeſtricht*, which had a Garriſon of 10,000 Men, and made a vigorous Defence. During this Siege, there happen'd a Thouſand Glorious Actions, and here our young Hero found Opportunity to give many Proofs of his undaunted Courage, and intrepid Reſolution; In particular, he was one of thoſe brave *Engliſh* Officers, who accompanied the Duke of *Monmouth* in one of the boldeſt and moſt deſperate Attempts, that, perhaps is recorded in Hiſtory. As we have a particular Account of this brave Action publiſh'd by Authority, I ſhall give it my Readers in the very Words of that Relation, adding only ſome few Circumſtances. 1673. *He is preſent at the Siege of* Maeſtricht. *Aſſiſts in a bold and deſperate Attempt.*

"THE Duke of *Monmouth*, being com- "manding Lieutenant-General for the Day, "had the Direction of the Attack of the *Coun-* *A particular Account of the Action.*

"*terſcarp*

1673. "*terſcarp* of *Maeſtricht*, on the 24. and 25. of
"*June*, N. S. the King of *France* being at
"the End of the Trenches, to obſerve the
"Conduct of the whole Action. His Grace
"had deſired of the King, as a particular Fa-
"vour, that he might be at this Attack, for
"which a Detachment was made of all the
"Grenadiers in the Army. The Duke having
"made a Lodgment, and taken a *Half-Moon*,
"the next Morning, on a ſudden, before Day,
"a Mine ſprung on the right Hand (by which
"a Captain, an Enſign, and fifty Soldiers were
"killed) and, immediately the Enemy (under
"the Command of Monſ. *de Farjaux*) made
"a Sally, which they did with ſo great Sur-
"prize, and in that Number (of the choiceſt
"of their Troops) that it was not poſſible for
"the *French* and *Swiſs* Guards, who were ſent
"for the Defence of the Workmen, to ſuſtain
"the Shock, but they were forced to give
"Ground. Hereupon, his Grace ſent away a
"Party of the King's Musketeers, that were
"deſigned for the Defence of his Perſon, to
"go and make good the Poſt; But the Ene-
"my had already made themſelves Maſters of
"the *Half-Moon*, and were not to be eaſily
"diſlodged, nay they had prevailed ſo far, as
"to bring the Whole into Queſtion; Which
"his Grace perceiving, ſent to the King for
"freſh Supplies, and himſelf, with a few Vo-
"lunteers, the King of *England*'s Subjects,
"which were not above twelve in all (among
"whom our young *Hero* was one) leaped o-
"ver the Trench, and, thro' a Storm of Shot,
"that fell, on all Sides, marched, with all the
"Speed he could, to the *Half-Moon*, paſſing
"thro' a Sally-port of the Enemy's, and ſo

"all

" all along, within twenty Yards of the *Pa-* 1673.
" *liſadoes*, being followed by Monſ. *d' Artig-*
" *nan*, and the King's Musketeers. The
" Soldiers were now quitting their new Poſt,
" not being longer able to maintain it, when
" the Duke's Preſence encouraged them to re-
" turn; Which they did with new Vigour,
" and being followed by what Forces could be
" rallied up in the Trenches, the Enemy was,
" the ſecond Time, beaten off, and his Grace
" again made Maſter of the *Half-Moon*, which
" he delivered up to Monſ. *de la Feuillade*,
" who came to relieve him, at the ordinary
" Hour ".

SEVERAL Perſons of Note were kill'd and wounded in theſe Attacks. Among the former were Sir *Henry Jones*, Colonel of the *Engliſh* Regiment of Light Horſe, who was one of the Volunteers, that attended the Duke in this bold Action, and Monſ. *d'Artignan*, Commander of the King's Musketeers. Among the latter, was Mr. *Churchill* himſelf, who was Captain of the *Engliſh* Grenadiers, that (as ſome Authors ſay) alone retook the *Half-Moon*. " The brave Captain *Churchill* (ſays " Monſ. *Rouſſet*) animated by the Preſence of " his General, ſeconded him, with his own Com-
" pany of Grenadiers, mounted the Breach,
" and notwithſtanding all poſſible Reſiſtance
" of the Enemy, planted the Banner of *France*,
" on the Lodgment he had made ". His Courage and Conduct, in this Action, were, at leaſt, ſo conſpicuous, that the *French* King made a Publick Acknowledgment of them, and did him the Honour to thank him for his Services, at the Head of his Army; Giving him, at the ſame Time, Aſſurance of His Re-

Mr. Churchill *wounded.*

Is particularly honoured by the French *King.*

commendations

1673. commendations to the King of *Great-Britain*. And here we may reaſonably fix our *Hero*'s first Step to Preferment; For we find, that at his Return to *England*, ſoon after, he became a Great Favourite, both with the King and the Duke; And was in high Eſteem with the whole Court. The Duke of *Monmouth*, in particular, was ſo ſenſible of his Merit, and of his Gallant Behaviour, in the Action at *Maeſtricht*, that he told the King, *he owed his Life to his Bravery*. A Teſtimony, than which nothing could do him more Honour, and which paved the Way to his immediate Advancement; For he was, thereupon, made Lieutenant-Colonel of Sir *Charles Littleton*'s Regiment, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and Maſter of the Robes, to the Duke of *York*.

The firſt Step to his Preferment.

A Noble Teſtimony of his Bravery.

He is advanced to ſeveral Places.

Is in great Favour with the Ladies.

NOR was Mr. *Churchill* alone the Darling of his own Sex. The high Reputation he had acquired abroad, for his Valour, Knowledge and Diſcretion, added to the Beauty and Comelineſs of his Perſon, and his genteel and courteous Behaviour, gained him, at leaſt, the Favour, if not the Affection, of all the Ladies of a Court, which was then particularly remarkable for its Gallantry. To relate all the Atchievments of our young Adventurer in the Cauſe of *Venus*, which were the Amuſement of the *Beau Mond*, and furniſh'd Matter of Diſcourſe for the Gallant Aſſemblies of thoſe jovial Days, would carry me too far from the main Deſign of this Work. That I may not, however, be tax'd of being wholly ſilent in theſe Matters, I ſhall only recount one memorable Story, which was Cauſe of Merriment in thoſe Days, without applying it nominally to the Perſons,

A memorable Adventure.

Perſons, it has generally been ſuppoſed to regard. 1673.

IT was ſaid, in thoſe Times, that the handſomeſt of King *Charles*'s Miſtreſſes, being importuned, by a Gentleman of more Fortune than Diſcretion, to beſtow the laſt Favour upon him; She agreed to let him enjoy what he was ſo ſollicitous for, at the moderate Expence of 10000 *l.* for one Night. This the enamour'd Fool paid down; But, thinking to heighten the Pleaſures of *Venus*, by thoſe of *Bacchus*, took ſo large a Portion of the latter's Favour, that when the happy Hour came, he was not in a Capacity, to take Poſſeſſion of the Jewel he had ſo dearly purchas'd. The Gallant, having met with this Diſappointment, thought the Lady would be too conſciencious not to admit him, a ſecond Time, to her Favours, when able to enjoy them, for the ſame Fee; But ſhe had the Modeſty to inſiſt on a new Bargain, and the ſame Sum over again. Surprized at the unreaſonable Demand, Rage took Place of the Paſſion of Love, and the Gentleman left her in a Fury, to ſatiate her Inclination for a more amiable Perſon, then juſtly call'd *the Handſomeſt and moſt Agreable Cavalier at Court.* To him ſhe gave the entire Sum left her by her Cully, as a Token of her future Favour, which he took better Care to deſerve, and is ſuppoſed, in the Sequel, to have had ſo large a Share of, as, in ſome Meaſure, laid the Foundation of his Fortune.

A FAMOUS *Modern Poet*, begins his Imitation of the ſecond Satyr of *Horace*, entitled, *Sober Advice from* Horace, *to the Young Gentlemen about Town*, with the following Lines, which are applicable to this Adventure:

The

1673.

The Tribe of Templers, Play'rs, Apothecaries,
Pimps, Poets, Wits, Lord Fanny's, *Lady* Mary's,
And all the Court in Tears, and half the Town,
Lament dear charming O—f—ld, dead and gone!
Engaging O—f—ld! *who with Grace and Eaſe,*
Could join the Arts, to ruin and to pleaſe.
" *Not ſo, who of Ten Thouſand gull'd her Knight,*
" *Then ask'd Ten Thouſand for a ſecond Night:*
" *The Gallant too, to whom ſhe paid it down,*
" *Liv'd to refuſe that Miſtreſs half a Crown.*

THE latter Lines ſeem to argue an Ingratitude in the Lover; But may She not have liv'd to have deſerved ſuch Uſage? If common Report may be depended upon, She did. In the mean Time, if the ſame common Fame is to be credited, he was her Drudge, as long as any Shew of Decency would allow of it; 'Till being about to enter into another State of Life, he was forced to have Recourſe to a Stratagem, to break off their forbidden Intercourſe; And, by palming another Lover upon her, whom he took Care to ſurprize with her, when his Company was leaſt expected or deſired, had at once an Opportunity to upbraid her Inconſtancy, to free himſelf for ever from the Arms of one he never really lov'd, nor had any farther Regard for than as ſhe was ſubſervient to his Intereſt, to oblige a Friend, who ſigh'd for the Enjoyment of what he neglected, and to give the amorous Nymph a Swain as lovely as his adored ſelf.

The King makes Peace with the Dutch.

BUT to return to the Political and Military Steps, by which our *Hero* continued to advance his Fortune: It was a *Phenomenon* ſo entirely new,

new to ſee *England* concur in Augmenting the Power and Grandeur of *France*, that it was believed this extraordinary Luminary would ſoon diſappear, and the King reſolve to call back the Succours he had lent the *Grand Monarch*; And in Effect, ſo it happen'd; For the *Parliament* was no ſooner aſſembled, than ſuch Reſolutions were taken, and the Conduct of the Court was cenſured, in ſuch Manner, that the King found himſelf under a Neceſſity of recalling his Troops. The Peace, which enſued, at the Beginning of the Year 1674. deprived Lieutenant-Colonel *Churchill* of the Opportunity of diſplaying his Valour in the Field; But he let ſlip none, by which he could advance his Fortune. He grew daily more and more in the Favour, as well of the King as the Duke, and, tho' one of the youngeſt Officers, ſoon obtain'd, by the Favour of the latter, the Command of a Regiment, as the Reader will ſee below. 1673. 1674.

L. C. Churchill *grows daily more in Favour with the King and Duke.*

THE King being now freed from the Cares of War, and the Uneaſineſſes cauſs'd Him by the *Parliament*, gave himſelf up entirely to a ſoft, indolent, and effeminate Life. The Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, his Siſter, had brought Him, at their Interview at *Dover*, the Daughter of a Gentleman of *Bretagne*, called *de Querouaille*, who commanded the King's Affections, beyond any of His Miſtreſſes, and was created Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*: But His particular Fondneſs for Her, did not hinder him from having many others; Tho' ſhe had the greateſt Influence over his Actions: And the Gayety, or rather Libertiniſm, of His Court rather encreas'd than decreas'd. Amidſt the Revels of this ſplendid Court, our young Warriour paſs'd his

King Charles *gives himſelf up to His Pleaſures.*

1674. his Time as others, for ſome Years, in Mirth and Jollitry, during which Time, nothing, with Regard to him, happen'd, worthy of our Remark; I ſhall therefore, paſs by the Years 1675. & 6.

1677. *Marriage of the Princeſs* Mary, *with the Prince of* Orange.

ONE of the moſt memorable and happy Occurrences of the Year 1677. which I muſt not paſs by in Silence, was the Marriage of the Princeſs *Mary*, the Duke of *York*'s eldeſt Daughter, with the Prince of *Orange*, on the fourth of *November*, the Prince's Birth-Day; from which thrice-auſpicious Day *England* may date Her preſent happy Condition and Security, in a free Enjoyment of her Religion and Liberties, as having given Birth to Her Deliverer from Popery and Oppreſſion, cemented that Alliance which gave Him a juſt Pretence, to be that happy Inſtrument, and brought Him on our Coaſts to compleat it.

Difficulties which attended the Negotiation.

THIS happy Alliance was not, however, brought to Perfection without ſome, and not very ſmall Difficulty. It had been propoſed in *Holland*; and the Prince of *Orange* obtained Leave of the King to come over and ſollicit his Affairs in Perſon: But the Duke of *York* was againſt it, and the *French* naturally oppoſed it, as it would of Courſe draw the King over to the Intereſt of *Holland*, and perhaps engage him to declare War againſt *France*, as the Nation was deſirous he ſhould, if a General Peace was not to be obtained; *France*, in the mean Time, had a very powerful Advocate with the King, the Ducheſs of *Portſmouth*. However, the greateſt Difficulty, which had very near render'd the Prince's Journy fruitleſs, was, that the King inſiſted upon it, as a Condition of the Marriage, *that He, and the Prince*,

Prince, ſhould previouſly agree upon the Terms of a General Peace: Whereas the Prince, on His Side, let the King know, by Sir *William Temple*, *That his Allies, who were like to have hard Terms of the Peace, as Things then ſtood, would be apt to believe, that he had made his Match at their Coſt; And, for his Part, He would never ſell his Honour for a Wife.* Both Sides continued obſtinate for ſome Time, till the Prince, at length, declared, He would depart in two Days, if the King did not alter his Reſolution; which, by the Aſſiduity of Sir *William Temple*, and the Lord Treaſurer *Danby*, He was perſuaded to do, and the Duke was obliged to obey the King's Pleaſure. Upon this Occaſion, King *Charles* is reported to have ſaid of the Prince of *Orange* to Sir *William Temple*: *I never yet was deceiv'd in Judging a Man's Honeſty by his Looks; and if I am not deceived in the Prince's Face, He is the honeſteſt Man in the World; and I will truſt him, and he ſhall have his Wife, and you ſhall go immediately and tell my Brother ſo, and that it is a Thing I am reſolved on.* The King's Conſent thus obtained, Matters were ſo managed, that he declar'd it in Council, before the D. of *Portſmouth* could ſpeak to Him. 1677. *How removed.*

IN the Beginning of the Year 1679. King *Charles* having required His Royal Highneſs, the Duke of *York*, by a Letter directed to him, for that Purpoſe, to abſent himſelf, for ſome Time, beyond the Seas: He accordingly retir'd with his Ducheſs, and the Princeſs *Ann*, the third of *March*, firſt to the *Hague*, and afterwards from thence to *Bruſſels*. The King falling ſick, the latter End of *Auguſt*, and having a Fit of a Tertian Ague, the Duke, upon 1679. *Mr.* Churchill *goes with the Duke of* York *to* Flanders.

1679. the firſt Notice of it (given him by the King's Order) came to *Windſor*: But finding his Majeſty in no Danger, after having eſtabliſh'd himſelf, more than ever, in the King's Favour, and procured the Baniſhment of the Duke of *Monmouth*, he returned to *Bruſſels*, from whence he came back again, the ſecond Time, with his Family and Retinue.

The Duke returns.

Some Remarks on Mr. Churchill's Conduct.

In this Retirement, Mr. *Churchill* had the Honour to accompany His Royal Highneſs; and it may not be improper to mention ſome farther Circumſtances of this Matter; as the State Juggles which were put in Practice on this Occaſion, to which Mr. *Churchill*, being ſo near the Duke's Perſon, cannot but have been an Eye-Witneſs, may very probably have made ſuch an Impreſſion on him, as had a great Influence on his future Conduct, in one of the moſt Critical Junctures of his Life, I mean at the Revolution. Mr. *Churchill* was, however, ſo far from believing, at this Time, the Duke of *York* to have any Views or Deſigns to the Prejudice of the *Proteſtant Religion*, that he is ſaid to have openly blamed the Proceedings of the Parliament againſt his Royal Highneſs, and maintain'd it to be the greateſt Injuſtice in the World, to deprive a Perſon of his Inheritance, upon the bare Preſumption of his intending Evil, when he had not actually committed any, that could be a Bar to his Enjoying his Right. But we ſhall ſee in the Sequel, that he was convinced of his Miſtake, and found that the Grounds, upon which the Party againſt the Duke proceeded, were juſt and reaſonable. To juſtify Mr. *Churchill*'s future Conduct, it may not, therefore (I ſay) be amiſs, to relate

ſome

ſome Particulars of the Duke's Behaviour at this Time. 1679.

THE Duke of *York* having improved the late happy Juncture of the King's Illneſs to His Advantage, and being ſecure of His Brother's tendereſt Affection, took that Opportunity to repreſent to His Majeſty, the Danger of His being in the *Low Countries*, with Regard to the Succeſſion, in Caſe of His ſudden Death, and thereby obtained His Leave to retire into *Scotland:* So that his ſecond Voyage to *Flanders* was only to bring over his Family, in Order to His Journy to *Scotland.*

THE Return of the Duke, from *Flanders*, the firſt Time, was diſcovered by Sir *William Temple*, to be a Political Juggle of two Chief Miniſters, to ſave themſelves. " The Se- *An Obſervation on the Duke's Return, by Sir* William Temple.
" cret (ſays he) was this: Upon the King's
" Illneſs, the Lords *Eſſex* and *Hallifax*, being
" about him, thought his Danger great, and
" their own ſo too; and that if any Thing hap-
" pen'd to the King's Life, the Duke of *Mon-*
" *mouth* would be at the Head of the Na-
" tion, in Oppoſition to the Duke of *York*,
" upon Pretence of Popery, and in Conjuncti-
" on with the Earl of *Shaftſbury*, who had
" threatned to have their Heads, upon the Pro-
" rogation of the laſt Parliament; which
" Threat was applied, by the Lords *Eſſex* and
" *Hallifax*, to themſelves, reckoning the Lord
" *Sunderland* ſafe, by his Relation to the Earl
" of *Shaftſbury*, and the fair Terms that had
" always been between them. This Fright
" had ſo affected theſe two Lords, that not
" ſtaying to ſee what the King's ſecond
" Fit would be, they propoſed to the King

1679. " to ſend immediately for the Duke; which be-
" ing reſolved, and the Diſpatch made with all
" the Secrecy and Speed imaginable, the
" Duke came over; but finding the King
" recovered, it was agreed to paſs for a Jour-
" ny of his own, and that it ſhould be receiv'd
" by his Majeſty, and the three Lords, with all
" Signs of Surprize."

Some further Obſervations on this Matter.

THE better to countenance it, the following Report of his Return was publiſh'd by Authority: " *Windſor*, *September* 2. This Morn-
" ing his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*
" arrived here, contrary to Expectation, and
" told His Majeſty, That hearing of His
" Indiſpoſition, he thought he could do no leſs
" than come and wait on Him, and ſee how
" He did: Adding, that he was ready, as
" ſoon as His Majeſty pleas'd, to return to
" *Flanders*, or any other Part of the World,
" His Majeſty ſhould command him to." And the Compromiſe afterwards made between the King and the Duke, for the Retirement of the latter into *Scotland*, had the following Notice given of it by Authority: *Newmarket*, *October*, 7. " His Royal Highneſs, having re-
" preſented to His Majeſty, that he conceives
" it, for many Reſpects, more proper for
" him to be in His Majeſty's Dominions,
" rather than thoſe of another Prince, and
" made it his humble Requeſt to His Maje-
" ſty, to have his Leave to go into *Scotland*;
" His Majeſty has granted it: And it is pre-
" ſumed his Royal Highneſs will, in a ſhort
" Time, repair thither.

The Duke of York goes to Scotland.

ACCORDINGLY, on the 27th of *October*, their Royal Highneſſes, attended by many of the Nobility, and Perſons of Diſtinction, ſet out for *Scotland.*

The Journy laſted above a Month, with ſhort and pompous Stages; they did not come to *Edinburgh*, till the fourth of *December*, where they were received with great Solemnity. The Duke of *York* grew, however, ſoon weary of *Scotland*, and thought it ſafer and properer to return to *England*: And to break the Deſign with more Softneſs to the People, on the eight and twentieth of *January*, His Majeſty was pleaſed to declare, in Council, *That He had ſent for his Royal Highneſs, not having found ſuch an Effect from his Abſence, as ſhould incline Him to keep him longer at a Diſtance:* And His Majeſty added; *That He was ſo well aſſured of the Duke's Compliance, in every Thing, that He could anſwer his Return ſhould have no ill Influence on the Publick.* So, on the four and twentieth of *February*, their Royal Highneſſes arrived from *Scotland*, by Sea, at *Deptford*, went up the River in a Barge, and were received by His Majeſty, at *Whitehall*, in the moſt affectionate Manner, and with great Pomp and Satisfaction. The King found it, however, neceſſary, before the Concluſion of the Year, to order His Brother to retire a ſecond Time into *Scotland*, which he did, the twentieth of *October*, after having received repeated Aſſurances from His Majeſty, that he would never forſake him. 1679. 1680. *Returns to* England. *And goes back again to* Scotland.

THE ſix and twentieth of *October*, being the firſt Day the *Houſe of Commons* began upon their Debates, they concluded them that Day, with the following Reſolution; *It is the Opinion of this Houſe, that they ought in the firſt Place, to proceed effectually to ſuppreſs* Popery, *and prevent a* Popiſh Succeſſor. The Duke of *York* ſeem'd to expect a Vote of this Nature, and, *Occaſions of it.*

1680. therefore, would not ſtay to hear the Affront of it; But, the Day before the Seſſion, departed for *Scotland*, with his Dutcheſs, and Retinue. *F. Orleans* ſays; that the Duke of *York* prepared to maintain his Birthright, in *Parliament*, with freſh Vigour, when the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*, and the Earl of *Sunderland*, came to him, from the King, to deſire him to abſent himſelf, for a while, and return into *Scotland*, during the Seſſion. This Requeſt ſtartled the Duke, *&c.* And, after his Departure, the Bill of Excluſion was brought into the Houſe.

Mr. Churchill *attends the Duke to* Scotland.

In one, and probably in both, of theſe Journies or Voyages to *Scotland*, Mr. *Churchill* had the Honour of attending his Royal Highneſs, and, among ſeveral other important Truſts, which he was honoured with, by this indulgent Maſter, he was made Colonel of a Regiment of Dragoons. During the Duke's Stay in *England*, he likewiſe made a Conſiderable Figure, among the *Beau Mond* of thoſe luxurious Times.

Is made Colonel of Dragoons.

1681. In 1681. Colonel *Churchill*, amidſt all the Gallantry of a ſplendid Court, inſtead of giving entirely into that High Pitch of Looſeneſs and Debauchery, which was then but too much countenanced and in Vogue, fixed his Eyes upon one, more particularly, among the numerous Beauties, who ſhone in that Brillant Circle, which daily ſurrounded the Royal Preſence; He ſet his Affection I ſay upon one, whom he reſolved to make his own, and a Partner in thoſe Glories, towards which he was advancing with ſo much Celerity.

Col. Churchill *marries Mrs.* Sarah Jennings.

This Lady, for whom our *Hero* was willing to forego all the ſecret Enjoyments of forbidden Gallantry, and lay himſelf liable to

the

dire Effects of Jealouſy and neglected Beauty, from thoſe Ladies, with whom he had till then liv'd in a familiar Converſation. This excellent Lady, who, this Year, became his Wife, was *Sarah*, the Daughter and Coheireſs (with her Siſter, the Counteſs of *Tyrconnel*) of *Richard Jennings* of *Sandridge*, in *Hertfordſhire*, Eſq; and of *Frances*, his Wife, Daughter and Heireſs of Sir *Giffard Thornhurſt*, of *Agnes-Court*, in *Kent*, Baronet. 1681.

HER Father, *Richard Jennings*, Eſq; aforeſaid, was the Son and Heir of Sir *John Jennings*, Knight of the *Bath*, at the Creation of *Charles*, Prince of *Wales*, the fourth of *November* 1616. the Son and Heir of *John Jennings*, Eſq; (and *Ann*, his Wife, Daughter of Sir *William Brounker*) Son and Heir of *Ralph Jennings*, of *Church*, in *Sommerſetſhire*, whoſe Wife was Siſter and Coheireſs of *Ralph Rowlat*, of *St. Alban's*, Knight, whoſe other Siſter was Wife of *John Maynard*, Eſq; the Anceſtor of the preſent Lord *Maynard*. *Her Genealogy.*

MRS. SARAH JENNINGS (now Dowager Ducheſs of *Marlborough* and Princeſs of *Nellenburg*) was born the nine and twentieth of *May*, 1660. the very Day her Sovereign, King *Charles* II. was reſtored to his rightful Poſſeſſion of theſe Kingdoms: At the Time of her Marriage with Colonel *Churchill*, ſhe was juſtly accounted one of the moſt accompliſh'd Ladies of the Court, and was very much in the Favour of the Princeſs *Ann*, the Duke of *York's* youngeſt Daughter, and afterwards our moſt gracious Sovereign, Queen *Ann*.

THE Beginning of *March*, 1682. the Duke of *York* returned from *Scotland*, and was received by the King, with all poſſible Marks of *The Duke of York comes to England again*

1682. Affection. After two Months Stay in *England*, He reſolved to return to *Scotland* by Sea, in Order to bring over his Ducheſs and Family, the Arbitrary Power, the King, his Brother, had by this Time eſtabliſh'd, having removed all Apprehenſions of His being obliged to retire out of the Kingdom again. He embark'd accordingly, on the fourth of *May*, and Colonel *Churchill* again accompanied His Royal Highneſs, among other Perſons of Diſtinction, who were in his Retinue. They went on Board the *Glouceſter*-Frigate, at that Time lying in *Margate*-Road, commanded by Sir *John Berry*, which was attended by the *Dartmouth*, *Ruby*, and *Happy Return*. The next Day, the *Glouceſter* ſtruck on the Sand, call'd *Lemon-Ore*, about ſixteen Leagues from the Mouth of the *Humber*; She had, in a very ſhort Time, ſeven Foot Water in the Hold; And the Duke, with the Colonel, and ſome few more only, narrowly eſcaped with their Lives.

Col. Churchill *goes again with the Duke to* Scotland.

Is in great Danger by Shipwreck.

It was, upon this Occaſion, reported, that the Duke, ſtayed ſome Time, at the Hazard of his own Life, to take the Colonel into his Boat; But this Report ſeems to have no Grounds; On the contrary, there appears to be much more Reaſon to believe, that the Colonel was very inſtrumental in ſaving his Maſter's Life, by hindering many from entering the Boat, who were preſſing into it, and would infallibly have ſunk it.

He is inſtrumental in ſaving the Duke's Life.

Various Accounts of this Matter.

We have very various Accounts of this Incident, in different Authors. "When the "Ship ſtruck (ſays one) the Duke order'd the "Pinnace to put off, with as many Perſons as "it would hold, and ſaved himſelf on Board "the *Mary*-Yacht: It is pretended, He him-

"ſelf

ſelf named the Perſons, whom He would 1682.
" have in the Boat with Him, and that ſome
" Prieſts and Jeſuits were preferred to ſeveral
" Perſons of Quality, who were unfortunately
" drowned, with 130 Seamen, the Ship ſinking
" ſoon after the Duke put off: But (*adds he*)
" I will not warrant this Circumſtance, which,
" perhaps is only a Report ſpread by his Ene-
" mies ". Another, however ſays, " the Duke
" got into a Boat, and took Care of his Dogs,
" and ſome unknown Perſons, who were taken,
" for that earneſt Care of His, to be His
" Prieſts. The Long-Boat went off with very
" few in her, tho' ſhe might have carried off
" above eighty more than ſhe did. The Duke
" (*adds this Author*) took no Notice of this
" cruel Neglect, which was chiefly laid to
" *Legg*'s Charge ".

ACCORDING to another Account, " His
" Royal Higneſs went off in a Boat, and took
" as many Perſons of Quality with him, as
" the Boat could well bear. Other Boats, were
" ſent to take out the Men from the ſinking
" Ship; But ſhe ſunk ſo faſt, that ſeveral of
" the Paſſengers, with many of the Duke's
" Servants, and above 130 of the Seamen,
" were miſerably loſt; The Commander, Sir
" *John Berry*, hardly eſcaping by a Rope, over
" the Stern, into Captain *Wyborne*'s Boat ".

A FOURTH ſays, " the Duke was aſleep,
" when the Ship ſtruck, but being awak'd, and
" perceiving the Danger, ſtill ſtaid, as long as
" he could ſafely, on Board, 'till, having No-
" tice given him, that there was above ſeven
" Foot Water in the Hold, he put off in his
" Pinnace, with as many of the beſt Perſons
" as it could well hold, *&c.* ". Be this as it
will,

1682. will, ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction loſt their Lives, in this Misfortune, and, among others, were the Earl of *Roxborough*, the Lord *Obrian*, the Laird of *Hopton*, Sir *Joſeph Douglas*, and Mr. *Hyde*, the Duke's Brother in Law. The Author of *Churchill*'s *Annals* ſays, "That in "this Voyage, the Colonel was very inſtru- "mental, in ſaving his Maſter's Life (which "confirms what I have ſaid above) and after- "wards in preventing the Ruin of many Fa- "milies, who were ſeverely perſecuted by the "*Epiſcopalians*, for Scruples of Conſcience". Which, tho' (as I have ſaid above) he always ſtrictly adher'd to the *Church of England*, may very well be; For he never ſuffer'd his Zeal to get the Maſtery of his Moderation.

Several Perſons of Note drowned.

THIS Matter was afterwards examined before the Council, where his Majeſty declared, that Sir *John Berry* was no Way faulty in the Loſs of the *Gloucester*; And, therefore, was pleaſed to give him the Command of the *Henrietta*, a Third-Rate, and of a Squadron deſigned for the Coaſt of *Ireland*: But Captain *Ayres*, the Pilot, was found guilty, and ſentenced to perpetual Impriſonment.

A REMARKABLE Medal was ſtruck on Occaſion of this extraordinary Eſcape. On the *Face* is a *Buſto* of his Royal Highneſs, with this Inſcription round it, JACOBUS DUX EBORACENSIS ET ALBANENSIS, G. B. F. The *Reverſe* repreſents a Ship ſinking in the Ocean, and a Rock and Caſtle at a Diſtance, with theſe Words: IMPAVIDUM FERIUNT.

THE Duke got ſafe to *Scotland*, on the ſeventh of *May*, and, with great Expedition, came back, by Sea, to *London*, in twenty Days: Colonel *Churchill* ſtill accompanying him.

The Duke returns, and Col. Churchill *with him.*

IT

IMPAVIDVM FERI

IACOBVS DVX EBORACENSIS ET ALBANENSIS G.B.F.

1682.

It has been obſerved, that the Duke of *York* governed *Scotland* at that Time, in an arbitrary Manner, and gave manifeſt Tokens of of his Cruelty, and inveterate Hatred to the *Preſbyterians*: And that He did ſo, we find ſeveral Inſtances, "The Duke, ſays a late "Author, ſeemed now to triumph in *Scotland*: "All ſtooped to him. The *Preſbyterian* Party "was much depreſs'd. The beſt of the Clergy "were turned out; yet with all this, he was "now more hated there than ever". *In another Place*: "The Proceedings againſt Conventicles "were now like to be ſeverer than ever: All "the Fines which were ſet ſo high by Law, "that they were never before levied but in "ſome particular Inſtances, were now ordered "to be levied without Exception. All Peo- "ple, upon that, ſaw, they muſt either con- "form, or be quite undone". And *again*; "All the *Preſbyterian* Party ſaw they were "now diſinherited of a main Part of their "Birth-right of chuſing their Repreſentatives "in *Parliament*: And upon that, they ſaid, "they would now ſeek a Country (meaning "*Carolina*) where they might live undiſturbed, "as Freemen and *Chriſtians*. The Duke en- "couraged the Motion: He was glad to have "ſo many untoward People ſent far away, who "he reckoned would be ready, upon the firſt "favourable Conjuncture, to break out into a "Rebellion".

An Obſervation on the D. of York's *Behaviour in* Scotland.

Col. CHURCHILL, having been an Eye-Witneſs of the Duke of *York*'s Conduct in *Scotland*, on this, as well as other Occaſions, without Doubt fortified his Principles with Reflections thereupon: And from hence, together with the State-Intrigues I hinted at above, may, among

A Reflection thereupon with Regard to Col. Churchill.

1682. among many others, be drawn one good Argument, to justify his Conduct at the Revolution. For, if the Duke of *York*, while he was only presumptive Heir to the Crown, and a great Part of the Nation was endeavouring to procure his Exclusion from it, could shew the Spirit of Persecution, and exert his Power, in this arbitrary Manner, what might not reasonably be expected from him, when seated on the Throne, and very near arrived to that Height of Despotick Rule, which he had all along aim'd at? "By the "Duke's Government in *Scotland* (*says the same* "*Author*) all Men saw what was to be ex- "pected from Him": But of this more in a proper Place.

Colonel Churchill *made Ld.* Churchill:

At His Royal Highness's Return, to shew his high Opinion of Colonel *Churchill*'s Merit, and as a Reward for his faithful Services, he recommended him, in so favourable a Manner, to his Royal Brother, King *Charles* II. that He created him Baron *Churchill*, of *Aymouth*, in *Scotland*, by Letters Patent, bearing Date the twenty-first of *December*, of this Year; And made him Col. of the third Troop of Guards.

And Col. of the third Troop of Guards.

1683. *Marriage of the Princess* Ann, *with Prince* George *of* Denmark.

Upon the Princess *Mary*'s being given in Marriage to the Prince of *Orange*, to which, as I have observed above, the Duke of *York* gave His Consent, with some Reluctance, His Royal Highness was very urgent with King *Charles*, to leave the Disposal of the Lady *Ann* wholly to Him, since His Majesty had married Her Sister, to a Person of his own Chusing. However King *Charles* II. to quiet the Minds of the People, who were then under just Apprehensions of Popery, thought it more adviseable to give Ear to the Remonstrances and Importunities of His Council and *Parliament*, and to marry Her, likewise,

likewiſe, to a Proteſtant Prince. Among the ſeveral Matches propos'd, His Majeſty, at Length, made Choice of Prince *George* of *Denmark*, ſecond Son to *Frederick*, III. and younger Brother of *Chriſtian* V. Kings of *Denmark*. This Prince, in the Month of *July*, 1679. had paid a Viſit to the *Engliſh* Court, in his Way from *France*; And four Years after, at the Deſire of his Brother (then King of *Denmark*) obtained Leave of King *Charles* to come over to *England*, to make his Addreſſes to the Princeſs. He arrived at *Whitehall*, the nineteenth of *July*, of this Year, and by his noble and courteous Deportment, ſo gain'd the Affection of the Princeſs, and the whole Court, that, on the eight and twentieth of the ſame Month, He was ſolemnly married to Her, in the Chappel Royal of *St. James*'s, by *Henry* Lord Biſhop of *London*, in the Preſence of the King and Queen, the Duke and Ducheſs of *York*, and the Chief of the Nobility. 1683.

A ſeeming good Underſtanding between the King and the Duke.

But tho' the Duke of *York* did not ſucceed in preventing this Marriage, He, in other Caſes, had a very great Influence over the Actions and Counſels of the King, his Brother: And to Him is aſcrib'd the Rigour with which the King treated His Enemies, or thoſe He thought ſo, the remaining Part of His Reign; of which the Lord *Ruſſel*'s Caſe, to mention no more, is a plain Evidence; For in the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Journal it is ſaid, that the King told him: *He inclined to have ſaved the Lord* Ruſſel; *But was forced to conſent to his Death, otherwiſe He muſt have broke with His Brother, the Duke of* York.

Most Hiſtorians, I ſay, aſcribe all the Rigours exercis'd in the laſt Year of King *Charles*'s Reign, 1684.

1684. Reign, and all the Meaſures taken by His Majeſty, for the Advancement of His Abſolute Power, to the Counſels of the Duke, His Brother; who had gain'd ſo great an Aſcendant over him, that He held him in a Kind of Subjection, and led Him into Meaſures productive of others, and ſo carried Him farther than the King was inclined.

1685. *State of the Nation.* THE beſt Part of the Month of *January*, of the Year, 1685. was ſpent either in proſecuting Delinquents againſt the King and Duke, or in receiving the Charters of the Corporations not yet ſurrender'd, or in granting new ones, on ſuch Conditions as the Court thought proper. All Complaints were ſuppreſs'd, and the whole Kingdom ſubdued, the City of *London* not excepted, which had always oppoſed abſolute Power.

At King Charles's *Death.* IN this ſlaviſh Condition was the Nation, when *Charles*, II. was taken away by Death, (ſome ſay natural, others violent) the ſixth of of *February*, after a few Days Sickneſs.

CHAP. II.

TARNSACTIONS *during the Reign of King* JAMES II.

1685. *Introduction to K.* James's *Reign.* NOTWITHSTANDING Matters ſeem'd to paſs off ſwimmingly, between the two Royal Brothers, in the Eye of the World, during the latter Part of King *Charles* II's. Reign, it was more than a Whiſper, that Their good Underſtanding was only in Appearance: It is ſaid, that the King being one Day importuned

joined by the Duke, to undertake Things, which he thought very dangerous, told Him: *Brother, I am reſolved never to travel again, you may do ſo, if you pleaſe.* And it might perhaps not be difficult to prove, that ſome warm Speeches had paſs'd between Them: After which, King *Charles* was heard to ſay, *He had been abuſed, and that He was reſolved, if He liv'd a Month longer, to make himſelf eaſy with His Subjects, let the Conſequence fall as it would.* This Expreſſion being carried to the Duke of *York*, (as there ever were, and probably ever will be, Carriers among Courtiers, as well as Pigeons,) He, in His natural Way replied, *That then it was Time to take Care of Himſelf.* The Oracles of *Delphos* were always ambiguous, and ſo was He, in His Manner of expreſſing Himſelf: But to corroborate the Common Surmiſe, and ſtrengthen the Conjecture, which was then no Ways made a Secret, I have been aſſured, from very good Hands, and ſuch as themſelves ſaw it, that there was, at that Time, handed about privately (*and after the Revolution printed*) an Account of the Death of King *Charles*, ſaid to be written by the Earl of *Mulgrave*, afterwards Duke of *Buckingham*. In this Paper, the Author, after hinting at the Reaſons, aforementioned (*among many others*) adds his own, why it was not reaſonable to believe that King *Charles* died a natural Death. Dr. *Short*, an honeſt and learned Phyſician, of King *James*'s own Perſuaſion, did not ſcruple to give his Opinion that King *Charles* had foul Play done Him, and tho' a Papiſt, died a Martyr, for his too forward Declaration: And Dr. *King*, who was one of the Phyſicians that attended the Opening of the Royal Corps) tho' wiſe

1685.

1685. enough to conceal his Sentiments, in Times of Peril,) was not at all ſcrupulous, to declare himſelf, amongſt Friends, and, at laſt, to any who ask'd him, that, in his Opinion, King *Charles* was poiſoned. This, without Doubt, occaſioned the Legend of the ſtrong Box, which was then in *England* (as it was, many Years after, in *Paris*) the Jeſt and Ridicule of all who read it.

King James *proclaimed.*

HOWEVER it was, *James* Duke of *York* ſucceeded his Brother, King *Charles* II. and was proclaimed by the Name of King *James* II.

Some Reflections on the Temper of the Nation at that Time.

He was acknowledged by a Temper of the People, as ſurprizing as was that of his Brother's Reſtoration. Bills of Excluſion were no more heard nor talk'd of; and yet the Diſſenters of all Sorts (the Quakers excepted) were full of their Apprehenſions and Fears; and the Churchmen were at little more than ſhort Allowance in their Hopes. As ſoon as proclaimed, He began to manifeſt the Obſtinacy of His Temper, and the Royal Vizor was laid aſide, as of no longer uſe; tho' it was the Opinion of wiſe Men, that had he continued to keep it on, he had poſtponed a great many of the ſubſequent Inconveniencies, which broke in like a Torrent upon him, and perhaps, to the Danger of our Conſtitution, might have had a fairer Chance for obtaining his main Ends: But, in this, Heaven ſeem'd to lay the Grounds of an Infatuation, which alone was able, without a Miracle, to preſerve the Nation: For had He not drove a *Jehu*'s Pace, we might probably have ſlumber'd over our Danger, till irrecoverable Ruin had overwhelmed us. But of this, more below.

NEVER-

NEVERTHELESS, by this Change of Sovereigns, the Lord *Churchill* was ſo far from loſing Ground, in his Royal Maſter's Favour, that his Affection and Eſteem for him ſhone forth with greater Luſtre. He not only continued him one of the Gentlemen of His Bed-Chamber, as he had been while Duke of *York*, and Colonel of the third Troop of Guards; but made him a Lieutenant-General, and ſent him Ambaſſadour to the Court of *France*, to notify the Death of the late King, and His Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Crown. 1685.

The Lord Churchill *continues in King* James's *Favour.*

Is made Lieut. General; and ſent Ambaſſadour to France.

IT was the fifth of *March*, N. S. that his Lordſhip had Audience of his moſt *Chriſtian* Majeſty, for this End, at *Verſailles*, as he had afterwards of the *Dauphin* and *Dauphineſs*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Duke and Ducheſs of *Orleans*. The eighth of the ſame Month he had Audience of Leave, in the ſame Manner; and, on the tenth, left *Paris*, to return to *England*.

Returns to England.

A LATE Author, ſpeaking of this Ambaſſy, ſays: *In one Thing only, the King ſeemed to comply with the Genius of the Nation, tho' it proved in the End to be only a Shew. He ſeemed reſolved not to be governed by* French *Councils, but to act in an Equality with that haughty Monarch in all Things; and, as he entertained all the other Foreign Miniſters with Aſſurances, that he would maintain the Balance of* Europe, *with a more ſteady Hand than had been done formerly; ſo when He ſent over the Lord* Churchill *to the Court of* France, *with the Notice of His Brother's Death, He order'd him to obſerve exactly the Ceremony and State with which he was receiv'd, that he might treat the* French *Ambaſſadour in the ſame Manner; This he*

1685. *obſerved very punctually, when the Marſhal* de Lorge *came over.* He adds, *That the Courtiers ſet this about, as a Sign of another Spirit, that might be look'd for in a Reign ſo begun, and that it made ſome Impreſſion on the Court of* France; *but, not long after this, the* French *King ſaid to the Duke of* Villeroy *(who told it to the Earl of* Galway, *from whom this Author ſays he had it) That the King of* England, *after all the high Things given out in his Name, was willing to take his Mony, as well as his Brother had done.*

Lord Churchill *made High Steward of St.* Albans.

UPON the Return of the Lord *Churchill* from *France*, he was conſtituted, on the ſixteenth of *March*, High Steward of the Borough of St. *Albans*.

Has an honourable Place in the Proceſſion at the King's Coronation.

THE twenty-third of *April*, at the Coronation of King *James* II. he was particularly ordered to attend, as Gentleman of His Majeſty's Bed-Chamber; and, in the Proceſſion, he followed immediately after the Duke of *Northumberland*, Captain of the Horſe-Guard (in waiting) between the Earl of *Huntington*, Captain of the Band of Penſioners, and the Viſcount *Grandiſon*, Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, being followed by two Grooms of the Bed-Chamber, and the Yeomen of the Bed-Chamber.

Is created a Peer of England.

THE fourteenth of *May* following, His Majeſty, in Conſideration of his Lordſhip's faithful Services, created him a Peer of *England*, by the Stile and Title of Lord *Churchill*, Baron *Churchill* of *Sandridge*, in the County of *Hertford*, a Manor belonging to the Family of *Jennings*, which devolved to him in Right of his Lady. The nineteenth, His Lordſhip took his Seat in the *Houſe of Peers*, being introduced

Takes his Place in the Houſe of Lords.

between

between the Lord *Maynard*, and the Lord *Butler* of *Weſton*. 1685.

IN the Month of *June*, when an Inſurrection was raiſed in the *Weſt*, in Favour of the Duke of *Monmouth*, who was arrived there from *Holland*, and laid Claim to the Crown, the Lord *Churchill* commanded the firſt Forces, which were ſent againſt him. Theſe Troops were Part of the Earl of *Oxford*'s Regiment of Horſe, with which he narrowly obſerved the Motions of the Duke, and, by his prudent Conduct, prevented many, who otherwiſe would have joined him. In this Expedition, he gave an early Proof of his Loyalty; for being ſummoned by the Duke of *Monmouth*, after he had aſſumed the Royal Title, to attend him, with his Forces, with particular Promiſes of his Favour, and required to do it upon his Allegiance, notwithſtanding the Obligation he had formerly had to that unfortunate Prince, he rejected his Offer with Diſdain, and anſwered, that he knew of no other Sovereign, but *James*, Brother of the late King. So certain it is, that nothing but the moſt evident and barefac'd Attack, upon our Religion and Liberties, could have ſhaken his Allegiance. *Is ſent againſt the Rebels in the* Weſt.

AMONG the ſeveral Accounts of the Proceedings of His Majeſty's Forces againſt the Rebels in the *Weſt*, which were publiſh'd by Authority, we find the following that regard His Lordſhip: In an Account publiſh'd the 22d. of *June*, it is ſaid, *The Lord* Churchill, *on his Arrival at* Chard, *with His Majeſty's Forces under his Command, ſent out Lieutenant* Monaux, *with a Detachment, conſiſting of twenty commanded* *His prudent Conduct.*

1685 *manded Men, and a Quarter-Maſter of the Earl of* Oxford's *Regiment, who, within two Miles of* Taunton, *met with a Party of Rebels, of the ſame Number, killed twelve on the Spot, and wounded moſt of the Reſt, and then retir'd, upon perceiving another Party of the Rebels. Lieutenant* Monaux *was mortally wounded in the Head, and three of his Men wounded. This Party of the Rebels were very well armed, being their beſt Men.* In another Account, of the five and twentieth, *The Rebels, according to the laſt Account we have, were about* Glaſtenbury; *the Lord* Churchill *obſerving them very narrowly, with Part of the King's Forces; He ſent out, the twenty-ſecond Inſtant, a Party of forty Horſe, from* Longport, *who met a Squadron of the Rebels, of double the Number, and beat them into their Camp.* And in another, of the nine and twentieth: *On the five and twentieth Inſtant, a Party of* 100 *Horſe, commanded by Colonel* Ogle-thorp, *fell upon the Rebels at* Cainſham *Bridge, between* Briſtol *and* Bath, *and cut off two Troops of their Horſe, killing between* 80 *and* 100 *of them upon the Place; and, on our Side, the Earl of* Neuburg *had the Misfortune to be ſhot in the Belly; but, it is hoped, he will recover. The Parties ſent out by the Lord* Churchill *have killed many of the Rebels, and many more are deſerted. The ſix and twentieth, in the Evening, all the King's Forces joined near the* Bath; *upon which, the Rebels, who were drawn up, on the other Side of the Town, march'd away, in much Fear and Diſorder, and are followed by His Majeſty's Forces.*

The Victory of Sedgmore *owing to the Lord* Churchill's *Conduct.*

BUT what does moſt Honour to his Lordſhip's Memory, is his Vigilance the Night before the Battle of *Sedgmore*, to which the Fortune

tune and the Victory of that Day was owing. 1685.

To give the Reader a clearer Idea of this Truth, it will be neceſſary to premiſe a brief Account of the State of Things before that deciſive Day. The Duke of *Monmouth*, tho' he landed with very few Troops, by the Concourſe of the Country People, who came in to him, had ſoon the Appearance of an Army, with which he marched from *Lyme* to *Taunton*, where it increaſed, and ſo on to *Bridgwater*, *Bath*, and within two Miles of *Briſtol*; but, unadviſedly, inſtead of entering into that City (tho' ſome Authors ſay, that notwithſtanding the Inhabitants of *Briſtol* were inclin'd to receive him; yet they were ſo awed by the Duke of *Beaufort*, their Governour, that they durſt not have ventured upon it) he retreated back again to *Bridgwater*, which falſe Step diſheartned his Party, and hindered his Recruits. How the ſmall Number of Troops, which the Lord *Churchill* had under his Command, harraſs'd his little Army, I have already ſhewn. The Duke of *Albemarle* headed the *Militia* of *Devonſhire*; the Duke of *Sommerſet* the *Militia* of that County, at *Bath*; the Duke of *Beaufort* the *Militia* of *Glouceſterſhire*, at *Briſtol*; the Earl of *Pembroke* the *Militia* of *Wiltſhire*, at *Chippenham*; and the *Militia* of other Counties were on their March towards the *Weſt*: But the King, not having a perfect Confidence in them, ſent away all his regular Troops and Guards, to form an Army under the Command of the Earl of *Feverſham*, Nephew to the late Monſ. *Turenne*, who, in the Beginning of *July*, encamp'd at *Sedgmore*, where the Lord *Churchill*

Circumſtances which preceeded the Victory of Sedgmore.

1685. *chill* was ſecond in Command, as Lieutenant-General.

THE Duke of *Monmouth* being at *Bridgwater*, which was near adjoining, found himſelf in a Manner, beſieged, and his Men, daily deſerting, in great Numbers; he, therefore, reſolved to hazard a bold Stroke, once for all, and attack the Earl of *Feverſham* the firſt Night of his Encampment. He was inform'd by the Country-People, that the Kings' Army was very remiſs, the Troopers in their Beds, and the Foot revelling in their Camp: Upon which he told his People, to encourage them, *that they would have no more to do, but to lock up the Stable-Doors, and ſeize the Troopers in their Beds.* He began his March accordingly, about an Hour before Midnight, in all the Silence imaginable, without Drum or Trumpet, and with Orders not to fire a Piece, 'till they were in the Enemy's Camp, thinking thereby to ſurprize the King's Troops, and fall upon them when unarm'd, and no ways prepared for a Defence. Some of the Rebels, having ſtray'd from their Guide, came ſooner up to *Dunbarton's* Regiment, which lay in an advanc'd Poſt, than the Body of the Duke's Army. This Regiment, conſiſting moſtly of Old and Experienced Soldiers, had agreed, that 100 of them ſhould keep Guard, and ly upon their Arms all Night: Yet, notwithſtanding all their Caution, they had been ſurpriz'd, had not the Duke's Guide happen'd to lead his Men above the Ford; and they, not having Patience to wait his Motions, ran diſorderly over the Ditch, to come at the Enemy, by which Means, they loſt their Guide; and a Piſtol accidentally going

ing off, gave the firſt Alarm to the Royal Army. Upon this, the Lord *Churchill*, who, with his uſual Vigilance, was ſitting up that Night, in order, if Occaſion required, to put himſelf at the Head of that Regiment, and ſuſtain the firſt Attack, headed what Troops he could ſooneſt get in Order, and receiving the Enemy, without any Signs of Surprize, kept them in Play till the whole Body of the King's Troops had Time to form themſelves. Thus, by his Vigilance, the Surprize, which might probably have proved fatal, was prevented; and to this Diſappointment, on the Enemy's Side, was principally owing the enſuing Victory. 1685.

THIS Beginning drew on the General Battle, between the two little Armies, of which the Duke's conſiſted of about 5000 Men, Horſe and Foot, and the King's of about the ſame Number, or a ſomewhat larger, and more regular Troops. The Fight, for the Time it laſted, was very hot; the Duke's Army laboured under many Diſadvantages; but Deſpair ſupplied every Defect, and, for a while, they made a gallant Reſiſtance (and chiefly the Infantry commanded by the Duke) till, at Length, his Horſe, commanded by the Lord *Grey* (conſiſting of Marſh Mares and Colts) which would not ſtand the Noiſe of Drums and Guns, and could never be brought into a Charging Order, quitted the Field; and his Infantry, having ſpent what Ammunition they had, and their Baggage, by ſome Default, not being come up, was obliged, likewiſe, to give Ground. Thus, by Four in the Morning, the Rebels were entirely routed, 300. killed on the Spot, 1000. in the Purſuit, and as many more taken Priſoners, as were the Duke and the *A brief Account of the Battle.*

1685. Lord *Grey*, the latter the next Day, and the former two Days after.

Behaviour of the Lord Churchill, *in the Battle.*

THE Account which was publiſhed of this Action, by Authority, ſays, *That the Lord* Churchill, *who commanded next under the Lord* Feverſham, *performed his Part, with all the Courage and Gallantry imaginable*; But an Anonymous Writer ſays; *That the Victory was owing to the Vigilance, Valour and Conduct of the Lord* Churchill, *more than to any one Perſon, whomſoever.* Monſ. *Rouſſet* goes yet farther, and affirms, that had it not been for the Lord *Churchill*'s Vigilance, the King's whole Army had been cut off; Whereas by his Conduct, in Keeping the Enemy at Bay, 'till they got into Order, the enſuing Victory was obtain'd. Another Author, tho' he does not mention the Lord *Churchill*, in his Relation of this Tranſaction, confirms what I have juſt ſaid, by his Account of the Lord *Feverſham*'s Negligence, and evil Conduct. "This Lord (*ſays he*) was "honeſt, brave, and good-natur'd, but weak "to a Degree not eaſy to be conceived; And "he conducted Matters ſo ill, that every Step "he made was like to prove fatal to the King's "Service. He had no Parties abroad, He "got no Intelligence; And was almoſt ſur-"prized, and like to be defeated, when he "ſeem'd to be under no Apprehenſion, but "was a-bed, without any Care or Order.—— "The Duke of *Monmouth* had almoſt ſurpri-"zed Lord *Feverſham*, and all about him, "while they were a-bed. He got in between "two Bodies, into which the Army lay divi-"ded, *&c*". If, therefore, the Conduct of the Commander in Chief was ſo bad, it follows neceſſarily, that all the Honour of that Action

was

was due to the Lord *Churchill*, who was next in Command under him. 1685.

The Succeſs King *James* had againſt the Duke of *Monmouth*, and his Adherents, which, as I have ſaid above, was chiefly, and perhaps wholly owing to the Valour and Conduct of our incomparable *Hero*, deſtroy'd all the Hopes His Enemies had of prevailing againſt Him; And had He made a juſt and moderate Uſe of it, *He might have reign'd the Happy King of as Happy Subjects*; But it had a very different Effect upon his Majeſty, from what might reaſonably have been expected, and His Prieſts became ſo elate upon it, that they thought, as they govern'd the Queen, Who had but too great an Influence on the King, nothing could now withſtand them, and they might, with as much Eaſe, govern the whole Nation. *Evil Conduct of the King.*

Flush'd, I ſay, with this little Victory, King *James*, as He had done by every Piece of good Fortune which attended Him before, reſolved to make an ill Uſe of it. I hope, it will not be look'd upon as foreign to my Purpoſe, if I, in this Place, juſt hint at ſome of the principal Inſtances of His Majeſty's evil and unhappy Conduct (I may ſay unhappy, as well with Regard to the Nation, as Himſelf, unleſs the happy Effects, they produced, may make it ſeem a Paradox) as they juſtify the Conduct of our *Hero*, in the moſt critical and difficult Scene of his whole Life, and as the Remembrance of them ought, upon all Occaſions, to be kept alive, as a proper Incitive to a conſtant Vigilance againſt all Encroachments upon our Liberties, and Innovations that can poſſibly tend to the Subverſion of them. Inſtead of endeavouring to recover, or rather to fix *Some Inſtances of it.*

1685. fix the Minds of his People to an unalterable Affection and Loyalty, by Ways of Humanity, Mercy and Condeſcenſion; Revenge, that Orthodox Spirit of Popery, took Place, and prompted, or rather ſeduced King *James*, to ſend down that cruel and wicked Inſtrument of it, *Jefferies*, into the *Weſt*; Not to enquire into bare Demerits, but to find every one guilty of Treaſon, whoſe Name or Countenance did not pleaſe him. His Majeſty could not have pitched upon a Perſon fitter for His Purpoſe; Since his exquiſite Juſtice-ſhip employ'd, Years after, the whole Wiſdom of the Nation, to undo his vile Undoings, and to ſet that Law ſtreight again, which he had made to warp to his Prince's Humour. To mention no more, Dame *Alicia Lyſle* was a woful Inſtance of the Truth of this, who, for only relieving a few poor Wretches, and giving them Bread, upon bare Straw, in her Barn, was condemn'd and executed, as an Accomplice in Treaſon, which nothing but her Charity had made her acquainted with.

Cruelty of Jefferies *in the* Weſt.

EVEN this did not ſatisfy King *James*'s unprincely Revenge: His Grandfather's and Nameſake's Itch after arbitrary and unlimited Power, had ſo tainted His Mind, that it ſtifled and ſubdued every Spark of natural Goodneſs that aroſe in Him; And His *Popiſh* Counſellours were ſuch Quacks in Politicks, that inſtead of preſcribing Medicines proper to aſſwage the Evil, they never deſign'd to eradicate; they only adminiſtred ſuch as ſpread the Malady, and render'd it more univerſal. By way of Experiment, they adviſ'd Him to aſſume and begin with exerciſing a diſpenſing Power, which was laying the Ax to the Root of our Conſtitution, inſtead of uſing a Pruning Knife: But moderate

The King aſſumes a diſpenſing Power.

Councils

Councils were hardly to be expected from Peo- 1685.
ple unacquainted with Moderation, except it be to carry on their own ſiniſter Deſigns. Why elſe was Liberty of Conſcience offer'd the Diſſenters, but to bring an Odium on that Church which had ever been the ſtrongeſt Bulwark againſt Popery, or to make the Diſſenting Party Tools and Accomplices, in the Overthrow of our Conſtitution, which the King had moſt at Heart?

BUT there was a more daring ſet of People, with whom His Knight-Errantſhip had to encounter. Men, who, more than fifteen Hundred Years after the Times of Primitive Chriſtianity, could audaciouſly pretend to purſue primitive Patterns, and almoſt offer themſelves a Sacrifice for that primitive Chriſtianity; A Thing ſo new, and therefore ſo much above Belief, that it put the *Popiſh* Councils to their utmoſt Stratagems to circumvent them. At Length, however, they dreamt, they had found a *Noſtrum*, which would effectually anſwer their Purpoſes. This was a Royal Letter to the Biſhops, charging them to take effectual Care, that the Clergy of their reſpective Dioceſes (without having Regard to the Canons, or their Conſciences) ſhould not preach or write againſt Popery, while their Prieſts and Jeſuits were countenanced in both, againſt the Eſtabliſh'd Church. Their Sermons, Diſputes and Pamphlets were cried about the Streets, as publickly as the Declamations and Warnings of *Tyburn*-Orators, and, indeed, with much the ſame Effect on the Populace, whom only they could propoſe to ſeduce, by ſuch petty Legerdemain. This Effort was ſo far from anſwering the hopeful Expectations of it, that it rather invigorated than depreſs'd the Zeal of the Clergy; And there were very few Churches, in

Forbids Preaching or Writing againſt the Church of Rome.

or

1685. or about the City of *London*, where the Errors of the Church of *Rome* were not emphatically expoſed, and the Purity of the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, more ſtrenuouſly than ever, proved and aſſerted. King *James* was not without His Emiſſaries and Informers, in every Congregation, and finding by their Reports, that theſe His pious Endeavours were like to prove abortive, a Conſultation of His State Surgeons was held, and an Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion unanimouſly reſolved upon.

1686. *A High Eccleſiaſtical Court eſtabliſh'd.*

THIS Court had been conſtituted in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, by Act of *Parliament*, and intended as a Barrier to the Reformation, which was then in its Infancy. This Act inveſting Her, and, in Her, the Crown, with the ancient Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, She, by Virtue of that Power, to prevent the Growth of Popery, and ſecure the Church of *England*, in Her Time eſtabliſhed, ſet up a High Commiſſion Court, with Power extending to Fines and Impriſonments. In the troubleſome Times of King *Charles* the firſt's Reign, many tender Conſciences (and what Conſciences are not ſo when Intereſt is in Queſtion?) ſeing themſelves liable to the like Fines and Penalties, made Intereſt in *Parliament*, the ſeventeenth of that King, and got that Branch of the ſaid Act of Queen *Elizabeth* repealed, and a Clauſe inſerted, forbidding all Eccleſiaſtical Judges to proceed to fine, or impriſon, the King's Subjects, or tender the Oath, *ex Officio*.

THE Handle the Jeſuits made of this was Jeſuitically logical; For an Act having paſſed, the thirteenth of King *Charles* II. importing, that the Act of the ſeventeenth of His Father does not, or ſhall not take away the Common Powers

Powers of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, but that Eccleſiaſtical Judges or Courts may proceed to Sentence, and execute in all Cauſes and Matters Eccleſiaſtical, according to the Laws uſed and practiſed in this Realm; The Jeſuits founded a Plea for this new High Commiſſion-Court, from the very Diſſolution of the Old One, and, by Explaining only Part away, rais'd a *Phœnix* out of the Aſhes, unlike the Mother, in every Feature and Quality; The Pile ſhe was burnt on having been compoſed of pernicious Weeds inſtead of Spices. 1686.

THIS Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, tho' granted in *April*, was not open'd till the third of *Auguſt*, and was directed to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to *Jefferies*, now Lord Chancellour, the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Rocheſter*, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, Lord High Treaſurer, the Earl of *Sunderland*, Preſident of the Council, and the Lord Chief Juſtice *Herbert*, or any three of them, of whom *Jefferies*, whoſe *Chriſtian* Behaviour in the *Weſt*, had entitled him to Royal Favour, on all future Occaſions, was dignified with the Specifical Characteriſtick to be always one to make a *Quorum*. The Archbiſhop abſolutely refuſed to act, and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* ſoon declined the Service. *Their Commiſſion open'd.*

The firſt who fell under their Commiſſorial Clutches, was Dr. *Compton*, Lord Biſhop of *London*, who was ſummon'd the very Day the Commiſſion was opened to appear the next. He had thwarted the Court, in an Addreſs of Thanks voted in the *Houſe of Lords* to the King, by propoſing a previous Debate on the King's Speech, and this was Crime enough to lay him under the Malignity of a *Popiſh* Council, and the Royal Diſpleaſure. However, to conceal *Their Proceedings againſt the B. of* London.

the

1686. the Cloven Foot, a Crime (*if it may be ſaid to be a Crime*) ſomewhat more modern, was made the Pretext, that is, his Refuſing to obey the King's Letter, for the Suſpenſion of Dr. *Sharp* (one of the boldeſt and moſt learned Defenders of the Proteſtant Cauſe) for daring to preach, contradictory to the King's Letters, in Oppoſition to the Errors of the Church of *Rome*. The Biſhop had ſent a ſubmiſſive and excuſatory Letter by the Doctor, who accompanied it with an humble Petition of his own; But to no Purpoſe; For what can be an Antidote againſt *Popiſh* Venom? The good Biſhop was obliged to make his Appearance before the High Commiſſioners, where, tho' he tender'd a Plea to the Juriſdiction of the Court, it nothing avail'd; There was little wanting beſides a Crown of Thorns and a Scourging, to make his Treatment like his Maſter's. *Jefferies* (who was particularly infamous for his audacious Talent, and whoſe Character given him by King *Charles* II. was, that he had more Impudence than ten carted Whores) treated the good Biſhop with all the ill Manners, and ill Nature, he was capable of; And after the moſt ſubmiſſive Behaviour, that Chriſtianity had the Power to inſpire into any Breaſt, accompanied, however, with all the Freedom and Boldneſs, that Innocence could infuſe in it's own Defence, he was ſentenced to Silence, and both himſelf, and Dr. *Sharp* (without a Judicial Hearing) illegally ſuſpended from their Functions.

And Doctor Sharp.

A Camp form'd on Hounſlow *Heath.*

THERE is no ſtopping a Torrent, nor a Bowl caſt down Hill, till it comes to the Bottom. Theſe bold, but illegal, Succeſſes, therefore, only whetted the King's Popiſh Counſellours on to their own Deſtruction, and puſhed them forward

ward to farther fatal Experiments. Such Breaches of the Law cauſed, however, daily Murmurings; And notwithſtanding every Coffee-houſe was furniſhed with Spies, there was hardly found one in the City, where People did not freely ſpeak their Mind, and cenſure theſe Proceedings. To put a Curb to theſe Liberties of the Subject, it was held neceſſary, by the King's *Popiſh* Council, to make proper Proviſions for the Maintenance of that Arbitrary Power, they had ſo illegally graſp'd into their Hands. To that End, and the better to intimidate all ſuch as might be willing and ready to oppoſe their Meaſures, an Army, of about 1600 Men, was drawn together, and encamp'd on *Hounſlow-Heath*; And to ſeduce the Soldiery, with the greater Eaſe (for not a third Part of them were Papiſts) a Chappel was erected in the Head-Quarters, where Maſs was publickly held forth every Day. This had, however, little Effect with the Soldiery, nor did I ever hear that many Proſelytes were gained. The Fear of Infection was, nevertheleſs general, and Mr. *Samuel Johnſon*, a Clergyman, to prevent the Conſequences of it, as much as in him lay, drew up a plain, but pathetick Addreſs, entitled *An Addreſs to the Engliſh Proteſtants in King James's Army*, which he printed, and took Care to have diſperſed among the Soldiers. This ſo irritated the King, and his precipitate Adviſers, that, whatever Effect it had on thoſe it was directed to, it gave his Majeſty, and His Favorites, a new Opportunity of gratifying their Revenge: *Johnſon* was immediately impriſon'd, and arraign'd at the King's Bench Bar, before Sir *Edward Herbert*, who ſentenc'd him to ſtand thrice in the Pillory, to

1686.

Endeavours to ſeduce the Soldiery in vain.

Puniſhment of Mr. Johnſon.

1686. pay a Fine of 500 Marks, and to be whip'd from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*; Which latter, in particular, was perform'd with ſo great Severity, and in ſuch a deplorable Manner, as was of no great Service to their Cauſe: But before this Sentence was executed, he was brought before the High Commiſſion Court, and formally degraded.

ALL theſe Things, however indiſcreet as well as illegal, were but the bare Earneſts of more egregious Tyrannies and Follies. Change of Religion was now made the only Step to Preferment, and all who adher'd to their old Principles were ſoon diſcharged the Royal Service; And ſo eager were the *Popiſh* Party in the Purſuit of their Deſign, that they now thought all Obſtacles removed, and began to raiſe Trophies, before they had any real Tokens of a Victory. An Ambaſſadour was ſent to *Rome*, in the Name of King *James*, under Pretence of reconciling *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to the Obedience of the *Holy See*. Maſs-houſes were almoſt as numerous as Pariſh Churches, and Popiſh Schools and Seminaries ſwarm'd in and about the City. Colleges were attempted to be garbled, and immemorial Foundations broken in upon, againſt Oath and Conſcience, to make Room even for Profligates of new Converts; Without Regard how deſerving the Character of the Incumbent, or how vile the Qualities of the intended Succeſſor were. To ſay the latter had changed his Religion, was ſufficient to entitle him to a Fellowſhip not vacant; And to ſay the former was a Perſon of Piety, Learning and Sobriety, was enough to diſpoſſeſs him of all he had legally in his Poſſeſſion.

An Ambaſſadour ſent to Rome.

I HAVE

I HAVE already hinted, that King *James* assumed a dispensing Power, in Defiance of the Laws. The fourth of *April*, of this Year, the King published a Declaration, allowing Liberty of Conscience to all His Subjects, suspending and dispensing with the Penal Laws and Tests, and even with the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, on Admission into Offices, Civil or Military. Tho' this was certainly designed to countenance His Indulgences to those of His own Persuasion; Yet the Dissenters, of every Denomination, being tempted by the Golden Hook, swallowed the Bait to their own Destruction, and Addresses of Thanks, for this Liberty, were daily presented by them, to the King. Thus far He may be allowed to have acted, in this Point, upon a right Principle in Policy; But whither will not the prejudicate Passions of Man hurry him? Not satisfied with this, tho' much more than the Laws allowed Him, He back'd that Declaration, the Year following, in the Month of *May*, by an Order of Council, commanding it to be read in the Time of Divine Service, in all Churches and Chappels, in *London* and *Westminster*, and ten Miles Distance, upon the twentieth, and seven and twentieth of that Month, and in all other Churches and Chappels of the Kingdom, on the third and tenth of *June*; And that the Bishops should cause the said Declaration and Order of Council, to be sent and distributed in their respective Dioceses, to be read accordingly. This certainly was outdoing all that had been done before. It was, in a Manner, tying down the Necks of the Clergy to the very Yoke itself. Or rather, if the Clergy could have spoken plain *English*, they might justly have

1687. *The King dispenses with the Penal Laws and Tests.*

An Order of Council, thereupon, order'd to be read in all Churches, &c.

1688. ſaid, His Majeſty would now no longer allow them to be Accomplices only, in the intended Ruin of the Nation, but would take Care they ſhould be Principals. This Order, therefore, ſufficiently alarmed the whole Nation; Nor was there any ſincere Well-wiſher to our Conſtitution, that was not heartily convinc'd of the bad Intention of the Court.

A Conſultation of the Clergy concerning that Order.

HOWEVER, upon a Meeting, at the Archiepiſcopal Palace at *Lambeth*, of moſt of the eminent Divines in and about *London*, after imploring the Divine Aſſiſtance, by Publick Prayer, it was agreed, that the Matter of the Declaration was altogether illegal, the Foot upon which it ſtood, being a Power not only to diſpenſe, in Contingent and particular Caſes, which, if the Legiſlator could have foreſeen, would have been provided againſt; But the Diſpenſing with all Sort of Laws in Caſes contrary to the very Deſign and End of making them. That ſuch Power was not properly a diſpenſing, but a diſannulling Power, highly prejudicial to the King himſelf; Becauſe it took away that Faith and Truſt, which the People repoſe in Him, when a Law is made, and which they look upon as their Security. That tho' every Biſhop and Miniſter might not be a competent Judge in ſuch Caſes; Nevertheleſs, he was a Judge competent for his own private Conſcience, againſt which he ought not to go; However that this Caſe was publickly adjudg'd and diſcuſs'd in *Parliament*, in 1672. These and many other ſolid Reaſons were at that Time ſtarted and ſettled: However, the Biſhops preſent, wiſely and conſciencioufly conſidering, that an Univerſal Refuſal might be attended with the worſt of Conſequences, and leave the

Their Reſolution.

Flock without their Shepherds, reſolved upon a glorious Expedient, worthy of the Imitation of all future Ages, as it came up to the moſt noble of the Primitive Patterns. The Expedient was this, that ſince ſuch a general Refuſal might be very inconvenient and dangerous to the Church, they would take the whole Load upon their own Shoulders, and by making it an Act of Omiſſion of their own, alone ſtand the Brunt of the Royal Diſpleaſure. 1688.

ACCORDING to this compaſſionate, and truly *Chriſtian* Reſolution, a Petition to the King was drawn up by the Archbiſhop, *Sancroft*, and ſign'd by Doctor *Lloyd*, Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*; Doctor *Kenn*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*; Doctor *Turner*, Biſhop of *Ely*; Doctor *Lake*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*; Doctor *White*, Biſhop of *Peterborough*; and Sir *Jonathan Trelawny*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*; ſetting forth the bad Conſequence to himſelf and People, likely to attend their paying Obedience to His Order for reading the Declaration in their Churches, and therefore moſt humbly beſeeching His Majeſty not to inſiſt upon it. But Reaſon was a Thing, that had long forſaken Him, and His Councils. To go on, therefore, in the old Train, King *James*, after having read their Petition, wrathfully expreſs'd himſelf in the following Manner: "I "heard of this before, but did not believe it; "I did not expect this from the Church of "*England*, eſpecially from ſome of you. If "I change my Mind, you ſhall hear from me, "if not, I expect my Command ſhall be o-"beyed." *The Biſhops petition the King.* *The King's Anſwer.*

This was a ſufficient Indication of what they were to truſt to, without farther waiting; For King *James* was very well known, to be *The Biſhops proſecuted;*

1688. very little given to Changing His Mind, ever ſince he turned *Papiſt*. But tho' He had before, broken in upon the Laws and Conſtitution, in many egregious Points, this may be ſaid to be the Rock he ſplit upon. Whether Treachery in ſome of His Counſellors, or a hardned Blindneſs in all, was the Cauſe, the Proſecution of the Right Reverend Petitioners was carried on, with the utmoſt Severity and Rigour; which, however, after all the Virulence and Inſults heap'd upon them, by the Court Party, terminated in a Glorious Triumph of the Church, over Popery, to the inexpreſſible Joy of the whole Nation. This a Man of common Underſtanding would have thought ſufficient to have opened the Eyes of the King's Adviſers, and reduced them to a State of Thinking; but Heaven had ſo infatuated the whole Party, that the Failure of this, and other Projects, did but ſpur them on to think of new Ones, and to wade deeper into the Mire. The Deſign of ſeducing the Army having failed of Succeſs, the like was attempted on the Fleet, and Maſs was ordered to be ſaid on Board: but there the Prieſts narrowly eſcap'd being thrown over-board. A *Papal Nuncio* was not only admitted, but careſs'd, and a Prince of *Wales* having been either born of the Queen, or palm'd upon the Nation (no matter which, according to our preſent happy Conſtitution) this ſame *Nuncio* repreſented the *Pope* at his Chriſtening, in the Royal Chappel of St. *James*'s.

And acquitted.

A Papal Nuncio *admitted.*

The Princeſs of Denmark *neglected by the King.*

THE Itch of Eſtabliſhing *Popery* in *England*, had now ſo far got the Aſcendant of the King, that it even ſtifled all Ties and Affections of Nature. He had ever been an indulgent Father to all His Children, and had even a peculiar

lar Fondneſs, for the Princeſs *Ann*; yet, as ſoon as the *Popiſh* Counſels began to prevail, Her Royal Highneſs became no leſs, nay perhaps more obnoxious to the Court, than the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, who not being bleſs'd with Iſſue, were not ſo likely to obſtruct the Deſign of ſetting up a *Popiſh* Succeſſor, as the teeming Princeſs of *Denmark*. There was a current Report, that whilſt the Queen either was, or pretended to be with Child, the Princeſs *Ann*, being, one Day, at Her Majeſty's Toilet, too inquiſitive about that Matter, She received a ſevere Check from the Imperious Queen (or, as ſome ſay, She threw Her Glove, at Her Royal Highneſs's Face) Upon which She retir'd from Court. 1688.

GUIDED by theſe, and the like evil Counſels, the King, at Length, wore out the Patience of His moſt faithful Subjects. His repeated illegal Practices drew on Remonſtrances and Petitions from every Side, which met with the harſheſt and moſt inſulting Anſwers. He evidently manifeſted, to the whole World, that His Deſign was no leſs than a total Subverſion of the *Proteſtant* Religion, together with our Liberties and Conſtitution; and to introduce in the Room of them, Popery, Slavery, and Tyranny; by Means of the Army He had all along kept up, and which he encreaſed, from Time to Time, chiefly with *Popiſh* Officers and Soldiers. He refuſed to call a Parliament, put Papiſts into all Poſts, Civil and Military, and particularly brought Popiſh Lords, and others of that Perſuaſion, into His Privy Council; with a Multitude of other Irregularities, which the *Engliſh* Nation could no longer bear, and

Other Irregularities of the King, and His Evil Counſellours.

1688. and in which we ſhall find our *Hero*, tho' ſo much His Favourite, had no Hand.

The Lord Churchill *no Way concerned in them.*

MANY Inſtances might be given, how cautious the Lord *Churchill* was, not to be involved in any of the King's evil Counſels; but one may ſuffice: *His Lordſhip was ſent for to the Queen's pretended Labour, on the tenth of* June, *but he had receiv'd ſome Intimations of what was to be tranſacted, and, therefore, kept out of the Way.* It is, indeed, difficult to conceive, how his Lordſhip, who was ſo near the King's Perſon, and ſo much in His Intimacy and Favour, could poſſibly avoid, without giving Offence, being engaged in ſome of theſe pernicious Counſels; And that he was not, is as certain, as his not being ſo is an inconteſtable Mark of his great Wiſdom and prudent Conduct.

His Caution.

A Critical Juncture for the Lord Churchill.

HAVING premis'd theſe Things, in which I have thought it neceſſary to be, at leaſt, ſo particular, as they juſtify our *Hero*'s future Behaviour, I now come to one of the moſt Critical Scenes of this Great Man's Life: A Scene, in which he, at once, ſtood in Need of all that ſteady Reſolution, ſtrict Honour, and noble Preſence of Mind, which he poſſeſs'd in a great Degree of Perfection, and of which we ſhall find many more Inſtances, in the Sequel, to carry him thro' a boiſterous and tempeſtuous Sea, with Rocks and hidden Shoals, on either Side of him, on which, by too near an Approach, the Ship of his Reputation or Honour was in Danger of ſplitting. On one Side, the Love, Gratitude, and Duty, which he bore to his Prince and Benefactor, might eaſily have drawn him blindly to approve and countenance all His Meaſures, to the wronging of

of his Conſcience and Honour; and the ſame Motives of Love, Gratitude, and Duty, which he ow'd to his Country, its Laws and Conſtitution, which would prompt him to oppoſe them, muſt naturally load him with the Imputation of the blackeſt Ingratitude: But amidſt this hard Struggle in his Mind, his Duty to GOD, and his *Holy Religion*, had their juſt Weight, and, at Length, determined him what Courſe to take. 1688.

THE Lord *Churchill*, notwithſtanding the many Obligations he had to His Royal Maſter, had, I [illegible] te a Love for his Country, to enter into, much leſs to applaud and farther his pernicious Meaſures. He was too well grounded in his Religion, and had too great a Value for our happy Conſtitution, not to look but with an evil Eye, on the violent Proceedings againſt the ſeven Biſhops, and other no leſs arbitrary Practices, which I have mentioned above. *The King's Conduct diſapproved by the Lord* Churchill.

HIS Enemies have been very ſevere in cenſuring his Conduct, on this Account, and have not been contented with accuſing him of Ingratitude, but charge him alſo with Treachery, to the kindeſt, the moſt indulgent, and moſt liberal of Maſters. A late Hiſtorian, if what he relates of his Lordſhip be to be credited, entirely clears him of theſe Aſperſions: This Author, after having obſerved, that the Lord *Churchill* was one of the earlieſt, who came into the Scheme of inviting the Prince of *Orange* to come over, goes on as follows: *Aſperſions thrown on his Lordſhip.* *His Juſtification.*

"BUT having now named the Lord *Churchill*, I will ſay a little more of him: He "was a Man of a noble and graceful Appear- *The Lord* Churchill's *Character.*

1688. "ance, bred up in a Court with no Literature? "But he had a ſolid and clear Underſtanding, with a conſtant Preſence of Mind. "He knew the Arts of living in a Court, "beyond any Man in it. He careſs'd all "People with a ſoft and obliging Deportment, and was always ready to do good "Offices. He had no Fortune to ſet up on: "This put him upon all the Methods of "acquiring one; and that went ſo far into him, that he did not ſhake it off when "he was in a much higher Elevation: Nor "was his Expence ſuited enough to his "Poſts. But, when Allowances are made for "that, it muſt be acknowledg'd, that *he was* "*one of the Greateſt Men the Age has produc'd. He was in high Favour with the* "*King*; but his Lady much more with the "Princeſs *Ann*.

The Lady Churchill's *Character.*

"SHE had an Aſcendant over her in every "Thing. She was a Lady of a clear Apprehenſion, and a true Judgment, a warm "and hearty Friend, violent and ſudden in "her Reſolutions, and impetuous in her way of "ſpeaking. She was thought proud and inſolent on Her Favour, tho' ſhe us'd none "of the common Arts of a Court to maintain it; for ſhe did not beſet the Princeſs, "nor flatter Her. She ſtaid much at Home, "and look'd very carefully after the Education of her Children.

The Lord Churchill's *farther Juſtification.*

"HAVING thus opened both their Characters (*continues my Author*) I will now give an "Account of this Lord's Engagements in this "Matter, for which he has been ſo ſeverely "cenſured, as guilty both of Ingratitude and "Treachery, to a very kind and liberal Maſter,

" ter. *He never diſcovered any of the King's* 1688.
" *Secrets*; *Nor did he ever puſh Him on to any*
violent Proceedings: So that he was in no
" Contrivance to ruin or betray him. On the
" contrary, whenſoever he ſpoke to the King
" of His Affairs, which he did but ſeldom,
" becauſe he could not fall in with the King's
" Notions, *he always ſuggeſted moderate Coun-*
" *ſels*. The Earl of *Galway* (*ſays my Author*)
" told me, that when he came over, with the
" firſt Compliment, upon the King's coming
" to the Crown, he ſaid then to him, that, *if*
" *the King was ever prevail'd upon to alter our*
" *Religion, he would ſerve him no longer, but*
" *withdraw from him: So early was this Reſo-*
" *lution fix'd in him*. When he ſaw how the
" King was ſet, he could not be contented
" to ſee all ruin'd by Him: He was alſo
" very doubtful as to the pretended Birth. So
" *he reſolved, when the Prince ſhould come over*
" *to go into him*; *But to betray no Poſt, nor do*
" *any Thing more than the withdrawing himſelf,*
" *with ſuch Officers as he could truſt with the*
" *Secret*. He alſo undertook, that Prince
" *George*, and the Princeſs *Ann* would leave
" the Court, and come to the Prince, as ſoon
" as was poſſible ".

Conduct of the Lord Churchill *at the* Revolution.

THE Hiſtory of the *Revolution* is ſo well known, and has been ſo fully treated of by many Authors, that it would be ſuperfluous to ſay more of it here, than what is neceſſary to illuſtrate the Conduct of the Great Man whoſe Actions I am writing.

THE many Provocations the King had given the Nation, and the little Proſpect they could have of any Remedy, on His Side, induced, at Length, many of the Heads of the Nation, Lords

1688. Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, &c. to invite ſecretly the Prince of *Orange*, to come over from *Holland* to their Aſſiſtance. To one of theſe Invitations, the Lord *Churchill* is ſaid to have ſet his Hand, tho' not without great Reluctancy and Struggle of Mind. It is likewiſe ſaid, that, upon this Occaſion, he conſulted with Dr. *Turner*, then Lord Biſhop of *Ely*, and other eminent Divines, who having aſſured him, That it was his Duty to join with the many others who had invited the Prince of *Orange*, their Advice confirm'd the Motives, I have already mentioned, and at laſt, determined him to do it; Tho' at that Time, ſeemingly contrary to his Intereſt; For he might at leaſt reaſonably have expected ſtill greater Honours by Siding with the Court-Party.

WHILE the King was at *Salisbury*, moſt of the Chief Officers applied themſelves to the Earl of *Feverſham*, deſiring him to aſſure His Majeſty, *That upon any Occaſion, they would be ready to ſpill the laſt Drop of their Blood in his Service; Yet they could not, in Conſcience, fight againſt a Prince, who was come over with no other Deſign, than to procure the Calling of a* Free Parliament, *for the Security of their* Religion *and* Liberties. Our Hiſtorians do not poſitively ſay, that the Lord *Churchill* was one of thoſe who made this Remonſtrance; But the Sequel makes it more than probable that he was. And if (as a late Author ſays) his Lordſhip was one of thoſe Noblemen, with whom the firſt Perſons of Diſtinction, who went over to the Prince of *Orange* to *Holland*, correſponded, he muſt have been very early concerned in the great and glorious Event of the *Revolution*.

By

By this, the King might very well perceive, 1688.
how little he was to depend on his Army; And his General; the Lord *Feverſham*, might well underſtand, that none of the Chief Officers would ſtand by him. Before all other, he, in a more eſpecial Manner, ſuſpected the Lord *Churchill*, who then commanded a Brigade of 6000 Men; He, therefore conjured his Majeſty, together with Colonel *Windham*, to have him ſecured, for a Terror to the Reſt; But could, by no Means, prevail upon the King to do it; Whether on Account of the Affection He ever bore him, and the Hope He might thence conceive, that this Lord would never forſake Him; Or whether His Majeſty might be apprehenſive, that ſuch a rigorous Proceeding might occaſion a Mutiny in His Army, I ſhall not pretend to determine.

His Lordſhip, whether he had any Knowledge, or was under Apprehenſion of any Deſign againſt him, or whether he had before concerted his Meaſures (which is moſt probable) tho' this might haſten them, went over, the next Day, to the Prince of *Orange*, with as many as were willing to follow him; Among whom were the Duke of *Grafton*, Colonel *Berkly*, and four or five Captains of his Regiment of Dragoons. At his going away, he ſent the following Letter to the King, which, as it ſhews how tender he was of his Honour, and how much he had at Heart the Intereſt of his Country, I ſhall inſert it at large.

SIR,

"SINCE Men are ſeldom ſuſpected of *Sincerity*, when they act contrary to their *Intereſts*: *The Lord* Churchill's *Letter to King* James.

1688. " *tereſts:* And tho' my Dutiful Behaviour to
" Your Majeſty, in the worſt of Times (for
" which I acknowledge my poor Services much
" overpaid) may not be ſufficient to incline
" You to a charitable Interpretation of my
" Actions; Yet, I hope, the great Advantages
" I enjoy under Your Majeſty, which I can
" never expect in any other Change of Go-
" vernment, may reaſonably convince Your
" Majeſty, and the World, that I am acted
" by a higher Principle, when I offered that
" Violence to my *Inclination* and *Intereſt*, as to
" deſert your Majeſty, at a Time when Your
" Affairs ſeem to challenge the ſtricteſt *Obe-*
" *dience* from all Your Subjects; Much more
" from one, who lies under the greateſt Obli-
" gations to Your Majeſty. This, SIR, could
" proceed from nothing, but the inviolable
" Dictates of my Conſcience, and a neceſſary
" Concern for my *Religion* (which no good
" Man can oppoſe); and with which, I am in-
" ſtructed, nothing ought to come in Compe-
" tition. Heaven knows, with what Parti-
" ality, my Dutiful Opinion of Your Majeſty
" has hitherto repreſented thoſe unhappy De-
" ſigns, which inconſiderate and ſelf-intereſted
" Men have framed againſt Your Majeſty's
" true Intereſt, and the *Proteſtant Religion*.
" But as I can no longer join with ſuch, to
" give a Pretence, by Conqueſt, to bring them
" to Effect; So I will always, with the Ha-
" zard of my Life and Fortune (ſo much Your
" Majeſty's Due) endeavour to preſerve Your
" *Royal Perſon*, and *Lawful Rights*, with all
" the tender Concern, and dutiful Reſpect that
" becomes, *&c.*

THIS

His Defection (as it was call'd) of the Lord *Churchill*'s is ſaid to have ſurpriz'd and diſheartened the King more than all that had happen'd to him before. At Reading the Lord *Churchill*'s Letter, the King could not forbear fetching a deep Sigh, which probably proceeded from a Conviction of Conſcience, that the Reaſons alledg'd by his Lordſhip were but too well grounded. He turn'd to the Lord *Feverſham*, who ſtood near him, and ſaid: Feverſham, *I little expected this ſevere Stroke*; *But you, My Lord, form'd a right Judgment of the Perſon, and his Intentions, when you propoſed to me Yeſterday to ſecure him, and the reſt of the Fugitives. I have nothing to do now, but to throw myſelf into the Hands of Providence*; *Since I can have no Dependance on my Troops, who, without Doubt, are corrupted by the evil Inſtructions of their diſloyal Officers.* His Majeſty's Refuſal of Securing the Lord *Churchill*, when urg'd to it by the Lord *Feverſham*, ſhews He placed an entire Confidence in him; And his Lordſhip being a Perſon on whom the King had beſtowed diſtinguiſhing Marks of His Favour, and whom (as we have ſeen above) He had raiſed to be a Lieutenant General, a Captain of a Troop of *Life-guards*, and a Gentleman of His Bed-Chamber, His Majeſty might, with Reaſon, expect a more than ordinary Strictneſs of Loyalty and Fidelity on his Side. And, without Doubt, theſe Ties, added to the great Advantages he enjoyed under ſo indulgent a Maſter, would have ſufficiently ſecured him to His Intereſt, had not *the inviolable Dictates of his Conſcience, and a neceſſary Concern for Religion, juſtly over-balanced all other Conſiderations.* 1688.

The King's Behaviour at reading his Lordſhip's Letter.

1688. I HAVE been the more particular in Relating the Circumſtances of theſe Tranſactions, that I might thereby fully juſtify his Lordſhip's Conduct, and clear him from all Aſperſions; Eſpecially from that groundleſs Report, of which we find an Account in Father *Orleans*, and which ſome of his rankeſt Enemies, by malicious Inſinuations, raiſed: Becauſe we ſhall find, they were, hereafter, trump'd up, with the moſt falſe and baſe Aggravations, when he was in Diſgrace, *viz. That he had a Deſign to have ſeized, and carried off the King with him, to the Prince of* Orange; And that this Deſign was concerted with Colonel *Kirk*, who commanded at *Warminſter*; But that the Execution of it had been prevented by His Majeſty's being hinder'd from going to that Place, as he intended, by a violent Bleeding at the Noſe, which nothing could ſtop but the Breathing one of His Veins.

The Lord Churchill *joins the Prince.* The Lord *Churchill*, and his Companions, joined the Prince at *Axminſter*, twenty Miles from *Exeter*.

The Prince and Princeſs of Denmark *withdraw.* ABOUT the ſame Time, and, on the ſame Occaſion, Her Royal Highneſs, Princeſs *Ann* of *Denmark*, withdrew Herſelf from Court, under Conduct of his Lady, who, at that Time, as long afterwards, was Her greateſt Favorite, and Groom of the Stole, having, as I have ſaid above, ſerved Her before ſhe was married to the Prince of *Denmark*. Her Royal Highneſs, with the Lady *Churchill*, and the Lady *Berkley*, two Ladies who made the brighteſt Figure at Her Court, both for their Wit and Beauty, had privately taken Coach, at the Biſhop of *London*'s Houſe, in *Alderſgate* Street; From whence they went directly to *Nottingham*, attended by that Prelate, the Earl of *Dorſet*, and

Some Circumſtances of the Manner of their Withdrawing.

and about forty Horſemen. At *Nottingham*, the Earl of *Devonſhire* gave Her a Guard of two Hundred Men, by whom She was ſafely conducted to *Oxford*, where Prince *George*, Her Royal Conſort, who had withdrawn before, ſoon after met Her, with a Detachment of the Prince of *Orange*'s Forces. 1688.

THIS is the Account that has generally been given of this Matter by our Hiſtorians; But as that given by a late Author, tho' it agrees in the main, differs in ſome Circumſtances, I ſhall add it: "Soon after (*the Lord* Churchill *left* "*the King*) Prince *George*, the Duke of *Or-* "*mond*, and the Lord *Drumlanerick*, eldeſt "Son of the Duke of *Queenſbury*, left him, "and came over to the Prince, whom they "join'd, at the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Houſe, at "*Sherburn*. When the News came to *London*, "the Princeſs was ſo ſtruck with the Appre- "henſions of the King's Diſpleaſure, and of "the ill Effects it might have, that She ſaid "to the Lady *Churchill*, She could not bear "the Thoughts of it, and would leap out at "Window rather than venture on it. The "Biſhop of *London* was then lodg'd, very ſe- "cretly, in *Suffolk*-Street; So the Lady *Churchill*, "who knew where he was, went to him, and "concerted with him, the Method of the "Princeſs's withdrawing from Court. The "Princeſs went ſooner to Bed than ordinary; "And, about Midnight, She went down a "Back-ſtairs, from her Cloſet, attended only "by the Lady *Churchill*, in ſuch Haſte, that "they carried nothing with them. They were "waited for, by the Biſhop of *London*, who "carried them to the Earl of *Dorſet*'s, whoſe "Lady furniſhed them with every Thing; "And *Another Account thereof.*

"And

1688. " And ſo they went Northward, as far as
" *Northampton*, where that Earl attended on
" them, with all Reſpect, and quickly brought
" a Body of Horſe, to ſerve for a Guard to
" the Princeſs. And in a little While, a ſmall
" Army was formed about her, who choſe to
" be commanded by the Biſhop of *London*.
" Of which (*ſays my Author*) he too eaſily
" accepted.

The Effect of their Retreat.

THE ſudden Retreat of Her Royal Highneſs from *London*, and the Secrecy with which it was managed, gave Occaſion, at firſt, to various Surmiſes; And if a Letter, ſuppoſed to be written by her to the Queen, ſhewing the Reaſons of Her Retreat, had not been produced, it was believed the King's own Guards would have joined with the enraged Mob, and torn the *Popiſh* Party to Pieces, upon a Surmiſe, that they had either made away with Her Royal Highneſs, or confined Her in the *Tower*. This Surmiſe gain'd the more Credit, becauſe it had been reported, ſome Time before, that the Queen had treated Her very rudely, and proceeded ſo far as to ſtrike Her.

Some farther Circumſtances of theſe Matters.

THE following farther Circumſtances, not being ſo generally known, and having ſome Regard to the Lord *Churchill* and his Lady, I ſhall add, " About ſix Weeks (ſays
" my Author) before the Princeſs left *White-*
" *hall*, She had order'd a private Stair-caſe to
" be made, under Pretence of a more commo-
" dious Paſſage to the Lady *Churchill*'s Lodg-
" ings, but in Reality, that ſhe might make
" her Eſcape that Way, when Her Perſon or
" Liberty were in Danger. The Night before
" Her Royal Highneſs withdrew, the Lord
" Chamberlain had Orders to apprehend the
" Ladies

" Ladies *Churchill* and *Berkley*; But the Prin- 1688.
" ceſs deſiring him to defer executing thoſe
" Orders, 'till She had ſpoken to the Queen,
" the Lord Chamberlain did ſo accordingly.
" (*It was therefore high Time for the Princeſs to*
" *think of Withdrawing.*) Not long after the
" News came, that the Prince, with the Duke
" of *Ormond*, was gone to the Prince of *Orange*,
" Her Royal Highneſs's Women, entring Her
" Chamber, to acquaint Her with it, in the
" Morning, were ſurprized to find She was
" not in the Bed, where they had left Her
" the Night before. They thought, at firſt,
" ſome Misfortune had befaln Her; And the
" People whom She was to make happy, in
" Her moſt Glorious Reign, and to whom
" Her Royal Perſon was dear, threatned to
" pull down *Whitehall*, till they heard that She
" was ſafe, and gone *Northward*.

" His Highneſs, the Prince, left the King
" at *Andover*. As ſoon as his Departure was
" known, ſeveral Parties were ſent after Him,
" with Orders to take Him, at any Rate. The
" Envoy of *Denmark*, who was ſummon'd to
" Council, on that Occaſion, and was no very
" great Friend to the Revolution, would have
" had it mention'd in thoſe Orders to take
" Him *Dead* or *Alive*; Telling the King, *it*
" *was his own Fault, that He was gone; For*
" *He had put no Body about Him but Traytors,*
" *and would not let him have a Foreigner, or*
" *any one elſe of his own chuſing.* The King
" replied, *It was the Lord* Churchill's *Fault,*
" *who made Him believe, that ſuch and ſuch*
" *would be agreeable to Him.* As ſoon as it
" was known, that the Lord *Churchill* was
" gone to the Prince of *Orange*, the King was

1688. " adviſed to have Mr. *Griffin*, the Prince's Se-
" cretary ſeiz'd, he being his Lordſhip's great
" Friend, and having an Influence over the
" Prince. His Majeſty conſenting to it, ſpoke
" of it to His Highneſs, who replied, *That the*
" *King had given him to Him, and was the*
" *Maſter:* But Orders for ſeizing him, being
" defer'd till Evening, the Prince gave Mr.
" *Griffin* Notice of it, and he made his Eſcape.

WHEN King *James* II. left *London*, and went to *Feverſham* in Order to embark for *France*, the Prince of *Orange*, who was advanced, with the greateſt Part of his Army, as far as *Henly*, diſpatched the Lord *Churchill*, for whom he profeſs'd to have a particular Eſteem and Value, thither, to re-aſſemble his Troop of Horſe-Guards: This Commiſſion he perform'd with as much Prudence as Readineſs, and he returned to the Prince to give him an Account thereof, and of the State of Affairs in the City.

The Lord Churchill ſigns the Aſſociation;

HE was, likewiſe, among thoſe Peers, who met at *Weſtminſter*, the twenty-firſt of *December*, and ſigned the *Aſſociation*, *To ſtand by one another, in Purſuing the Ends of the Prince of* Orange's *Declaration*; *And that, if any Attempt ſhould be made on his Perſon, it ſhould be revenged on all, by whom, or from whom, any ſuch Attempts ſhould be made.* The Number of Lords Spiritual and Temporal, who were aſſembled, on this Occaſion, was about ſeventy: All of whom ſigned it, excepting four Temporal Lords, and all the Biſhops, but the Biſhop of *London*; who ſet his Hand to it. This Aſſociation was the ſame as that which the Nobility and Gentry had already ſign'd at *Exeter*. It was ſaid that the Biſhops refuſed ſigning it chiefly on Account

Account of the Word *Revenge*, which was afterwards changed for that of *Puniſhment*. 1688.

And concurs in Addreſſing the Prince to take the Adminiſtration.

He was alſo, one of the Peers, who, on the 25th of *December* addreſs'd His Highneſs, *To take upon Him the Adminiſtration of the Publick Affairs, both Civil and Military, and the Diſpoſal of the Publick Revenue, for the Preſervation of our* Religion, Rights, Laws, Liberties *and* Properties, *and of the* Peace of the Nation, *&c.* And to undertake and exerciſe this Adminiſtration, 'till the Meeting of the intended Convention, on the twenty-ſecond of *January* enſuing; At which Time they doubted not, but ſuch proper Meaſures would be taken, as would abundantly conduce to the Eſtabliſhment of theſe Things, upon ſuch ſure and legal Foundations, that they might not be in Danger of being again ſubverted. This Addreſs was ſign'd by above ſixty (ſome Accounts ſay ninety) Peers. And was followed, the ſeven and twentieth, by the like Addreſs from an Aſſembly of *Commons*, who had ſerved in *Parliament*, and of the Lord-Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of *London*, who met, at the Prince's Deſire, expreſſed in a Paper iſſued out by him, for that Purpoſe.

END *of the Second* BOOK.

BOOK III.

TRANSACTIONS *during the Reigns of King* WILLIAM *and Queen* MARY, *and of King* WILLIAM III.

CHAP. I.

TARNSACTIONS *during the Reign of King* WILLIAM *and Queen* MARY.

1689.

Some Circumſtances previous to the Acceſſion of K. William *and Q.* Mary.

AS I am not Writing a Hiſtory of the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, I ſhall only juſt hint at two or three Circumſtances, which happen'd previous to the Meeting of the Convention which gave Birth to it.

MONY being wanted to diſcharge the Arrears of the *Engliſh* Army, the City of *London* advanc'd 200,000 *l.* for that Purpoſe; of which Sir *Samuel Daſhwood* alone, to his eternal Honour, lent 60,000 *l.*

THE

THE Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who at firſt declined waiting on the Prince of *Orange*, at laſt, ſent a Compliment to the Prince, and with ſeven or eight Biſhops more, ſign'd the *Aſſociation*, after ſome Words were ſoftned in it which had given them Uneaſineſs: And, about the ſame Time, ninety Diſſenting Miniſters attended the Prince. 1689.

THE Elections for the Members of the Convention proceeded with all imaginable Freedom. The Electors gave their Votes, according to their own Inclinations, without any Sollicitations from the Prince, or his Friends: And to take away all Pretence of Compulſion or Influence, the Prince had removed all the Soldiers, to a certain Diſtance from the Places of Election.

THE Prince, conſidering, in the mean Time, that the Convention was to ſettle the Government, thought proper to ſend for the Princeſs, ſince if, as it was very likely, the Convention ſhould declare the Throne vacant, no Perſon had a juſter Pretenſion to it, than She.

ON the Prince of *Orange*'s taking the Adminiſtration upon him, in Purſuance of the two Addreſſes mentioned in the foregoing Book, He immediately made the Lord *Churchill* Lieutenant-General of His Forces; and, as His Highneſs reſolved to new model the Army, He firſt cauſed a Review to be made of all the Troops, and then gave Directions to the Lord *Ranelagh*, their Paymaſter, to pay them their Arrears, and to the Lord *Churchill*, to reform eight of the new rais'd Regiments, *viz.* five of Horſe, and three of Foot, as far as it extended to their Officers; but to keep in thoſe who had ſerved before, and were willing

The Engliſh *Army new modelled.*

1689. to be employ'd by His Highneſs. Beſides this Reform, the fourth Troop of Life-Guards was diſbanded, to make Room for the *Dutch* Life-Guard; and ſome Alterations being made in the Command, the Regiment of Major-General *Oglethorp* was given to the Lord *Churchill*'s Brother.

ON Occaſion of this Reform, the following Story is related, in Honour to the Earl of *Macclesfield*: "The Lord *Churchill* having diſ-"banded his Son's, the Lord *Brandon*'s, Regi-"ment, the Earl asking him the Reaſon, his "Lordſhip ſaid, *It was one of the new Levies,* "*and, beſides, his Son had rais'd it, with a De-*"*ſign to ſerve againſt His Highneſs.* The Earl "of *Macclesfield* replied, *That he had, indeed,* "*paſs'd for a Rebel, becauſe King* James *would* "*have it ſo: But* GOD *be thank'd, he had never* "*been a* Traytor, *and if his Son had proved* "*one, he himſelf would have been his Hangman.*

Saying of the Lord Macclesfield, *on this Occaſion.*

IT was obſerved, that, on the Debates, in the *Houſe of Lords*, from the eight and twentieth to the thirty-firſt of *January*, about the *Vacancy of the Throne*, when, on the laſt of theſe Days, the memorable Queſtion was put, *Whether King* James, *having broke that* Original Contract *between Him and His People, and* deſerted *the Government, the Throne was thereby* Vacant, the Lord *Churchill* was not preſent, on Account of ſome Indiſpoſition; tho' many believed the Indiſpoſition was only feign'd, becauſe he had no Mind to give his Vote in that *Grand* and *Critical Affair*, wherein he muſt either diſoblige the Prince of *Orange*, or the Princeſs of *Denmark*. He came, however, afterwards, on the 6th of *February*, into the Queſtion, *That the Throne was vacant, and that the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange *ſhould be declared King and*

and Queen of England, *and of all the Dominions thereunto belonging.* This memorable Queſtion was carried by ſixty-five Voices againſt forty-five, and it is highly probable, that his Lordſhip and others, who had been for the Princeſs of *Denmark*'s Right and Intereſt, had Her Conſent to come into this Queſtion; Her Royal Highneſs preferring the Publick Good before Her private Intereſt, out of the Great Concern ſhe ever had for the Preſervation of the *Proteſtant* Religion, and of the Laws and Liberties of *England*. One of our Hiſtorians does the Lady *Churchill* (a Perſon, ſays he, diſtinguiſh'd by her prevailing Wit, and thoſe perſonal Accompliſhments for which her Sex are generally admir'd) the Honour of having, by her Mediation, contributed not a little towards bringing Her Royal Highneſs to this happy Diſpoſition. 1689.

THE thirteenth of *February*, Their Majeſties were accordingly proclaimed, and, the Day following, the Lord *Churchill* was ſworn of Their firſt *Privy Council*, and made one of the Gentlemen of the King's Bed-Chamber, together with the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Mordaunt* (afterwards Earl of *Peterborough*) the Lord *Lumley* (afterwards Earl of *Scarborough*) and Mr. *Sidney*, who was created Earl of *Romney*. *King* William *and Queen* Mary's *Acceſſion to the Throne.* *The Lord* Churchill *made P. Counſellour, and Gent. of the Bed-Chamber.*

THE ninth of *April*, being two Days before Their Majeſty's Coronation, among many other Titles and Honours beſtow'd, about that Time, on ſeveral Noblemen and others, His Lordſhip's faithful Services were rewarded, by his being advanced to the Dignity of Earl of *Marlborough*, and, accordingly, he attended at Their Majeſty's Coronation, in that Quality. *Created Earl of* Marlb.

1689. As yet, there was no open War declared againſt *France:* But the Reception of King *James*, in the *French* Court, and his tranſporting *French* Forces into *Ireland*, ſoon made it neceſſary, and it was expected abroad, as well as deſired at Home. Under this Diſpoſition, on the ſix and twentieth of *April*, the *Houſe of Commons* waited on His Majeſty, in a Body, at *Whitehall*, and humbly addreſs'd Him for a War with *France*. The King, being well aſſured of the Aſſiſtance of the *Commons*, acquainted the *Lords* with his Intention, of ſpeedily declaring War againſt *France*. Whereupon their Lordſhips, on the ſeventh of *May*, unanimouſly reſolved to ſerve and aſſiſt his Majeſty therein, to their utmoſt Power. The ſame Day, Their Majeſty's Declaration of War againſt the *French* King, was ſolemnly proclaimed; and as it is in a maſterly Form (ſaid to be drawn up by Mr. *Sommers*) and ſhews the Grounds upon which this juſt War was begun, I ſhall give my Readers a Copy of it, at large.

WILLIAM R.

Declaration of War againſt France.

" IT having pleaſed ALMIGHTY GOD, to " make Us the happy *Inſtrument* of Reſ- " cuing theſe Nations from imminent Dangers, " and to place Us upon the Throne of theſe " Kingdoms; We think Our-ſelves obliged to " endeavour, to the uttermoſt, to promote the " Wellfare of Our People: Which can never " be effectually ſecured, but by preventing the " Miſeries that threaten them from Abroad.

" WHEN We conſider the many unjuſt Methods the *French* King hath, of late Years, " taken, to gratify His Ambition: That He " has

1689.

" has not only invaded the Territories of the *Emperor*, and the *Empire*, now in *Amity* with " Us, laying waſte whole Countries, and de- " ſtroying the Inhabitants, by His Armies; " But declared *War* againſt Our *Allies*, with- " out any Provocation, in manifeſt Violation " of the Treaties confirm'd by the Guaranty " of the Crown of *England*; We can do no " leſs than join with Our *Allies*, in Oppoſing " the Deſigns of the *French* King, as the *Diſ- " turber of the Peace*, and the *Common Enemy* " of the *Chriſtian* World.

" AND beſides the Obligations We ly un- " der, by *Treaties* with Our *Allies*, which are a " ſufficient Juſtification of Us, for taking up " Arms, at this Time, ſince They have called " upon Us ſo to do, the many Injuries done to " Us, and to Our Subjects, without any Re- " paration, by the *French* King, are ſuch, that " (however, of late Years, they were not taken " Notice of, for Reaſons well known to the " World, nevertheleſs) We will not paſs them " over, without a Publick and juſt Reſentment " of ſuch Outrages.

" IT is not long ſince the *French* took *Li- " cenſes* from the *Engliſh* Governour of *New- " foundland*, to fiſh in the Seas upon that " Coaſt, and paid a Tribute for ſuch *Licenſes*, " as an Acknowledgment of the *Sole Right* of " the Crown of *England* to that Iſland: And " yet, of late, the Encroachments of the " *French*, upon Our ſaid Iſland, and Our Sub- " jects Trade and Fiſhery, have been more " like the Invaſions of an Enemy, than be- " coming Friends, who enjoyed the Advan- " tages of that Trade only by Permiſſion.

" BUT

1689. " BUT that the *French* King ſhould invade
" Our *Caribbee* Iſlands, and poſſeſs himſelf of
" Our Territories of the Province of *New-*
" *York*, and of *Hudſon's-Bay*, in a Hoſtile
" Manner, ſeizing Our Forts, burning Our
" Subjects Houſes, and Enriching His Peo-
" ple with the Spoil of their Goods and Mer-
" chandizes, detaining ſome of Our Subjects
" under the Hardſhip of Impriſonment, cauſing
" others to be inhumanly kill'd, and driving
" the Reſt to Sea, in a ſmall Veſſel, without
" Food and Neceſſaries to ſupport them, are
" Actions not becoming even an Enemy: And
" yet He was ſo far from declaring himſelf
" ſo, that, at that very Time, He was nego-
" tiating here, in *England*, by his Miniſters, a
" Treaty of Neutrality and good Correſpond-
" ence in *America*.

" THE Proceedings of the *French* King a-
" gainſt Our Subjects in *Europe* are ſo notorious,
" that We ſhall not need to enlarge on them:
" His Countenancing the Seizure of *Engliſh*
" Ships by *French* Privateers; Forbidding the
" Importation of great Part of the Product
" and Manufactures of Our Kingdom, and im-
" poſing exorbitant Cuſtoms upon the Reſt,
" notwithſtanding the vaſt Advantage, He,
" and the *French* Nation, reap by their Com-
" merce with *England*, are ſufficient Evidences
" of His Deſign to deſtroy the Trade, and
" conſequently, to ruin the Navigation, upon
" which the Wealth and Safety of this Nation
" very much depends.

" THE Right of the Flag, inherent in the
" Crown of *England*, has been diſputed by His
" Orders, in Violation of Our Sovereignty
" of the Narrow Seas, which, in all Ages
" has

" has been aſſerted by Our Predeceſſors, and 1689.
" We are reſolved to maintain, for the
" Honour of Our Crown, and of the *Engliſh*
" Nation.

" BUT that which moſt nearly touches Us,
" is, His *Unchriſtian* Proſecution of many of
" Our *Engliſh* Proteſtant Subjects, in *France*,
" for Matters of Religion, contrary to the
" Laws of Nations, and expreſs Treaties;
" Forcing them to abjure their Religion, by
" ſtrange and unuſual Cruelties; And impri-
" ſoning ſome of the Maſters and Seamen of
" Our Merchant Ships, and Condemning o-
" thers to the Gallies, on Pretence of having
" on Board, either ſome of His own miſer-
" able Proteſtant Subjects, or their Effects.
" And laſtly, as He has, for ſome Years laſt
" paſt, endeavour'd, by Inſinuations and Pro-
" miſes of Aſſiſtance, to overthrow the Go-
" vernment of *England*; So now, by open and
" violent Methods, and the actual Invaſion of
" Our Kingdom of *Ireland*, in Support of
" Our Subjects in Arms, and in Rebellion a-
" gainſt Us, He is promoting the utter Ex-
" tirpation of Our good and loyal Subjects in
" that Our Kingdom.

" BEING, therefore, thus neceſſitated to take
" up Arms, and relying on the Help of AL-
" MIGHTY GOD, in our juſt Undertaking;
" We have thought fit to declare, and do,
" hereby, declare War againſt the *French*
" King; And that We will, in Conjunction
" with Our *Allies*, vigorouſly proſecute the
" ſame, by Sea and Land (ſince He hath, ſo
" unrighteouſly, begun it;) Being aſſured of
" the hearty Concurrence and Aſſiſtance of
" Our Subjects, in Support of ſo good a Cauſe:

" Hereby

1689. " Hereby willing and requiring Our General " of Our Forces, Our Commiſſioners for Exe- " cuting the Office of High Admiral, Our " Lieutenants of Our ſeveral Counties, Go- " vernours of Our Forts and Garriſons, and " all other Officers, and Soldiers under them, " by Sea and Land, to do and execute all " Acts of Hoſtility in the Proſecution of this " War, againſt the *French* King, his Vaſſals " and Subjects, and to oppoſe their Attempts. " Willing and Requiring all Our Subjects to " take Notice of the ſame, whom We hence- " forth ſtrictly forbid to hold any Corre- " ſpondence or Communication with the ſaid " *French* King, or his Subjects. And becauſe " there are remaining in Our Kingdom, many " of the Subjects of the *French* King; We " do declare, and give Our Royal Word, " that all ſuch of the *French* Nation, as ſhall " demean themſelves dutifully towards Us, " and not correſpond with Our Enemies, ſhall " be ſafe in their Perſons and Eſtates, and " free from all Moleſtation and Trouble, of " any Kind.

" GIVEN at Our Court at *Hampton-Court*, the " ſeventh Day of *May*, 1689. in the firſt Year " of Our Reign.

The Earl of Marlborough *commands His Majeſty's Forces in the* Netherlands.

SOON after, the Affairs of the Nation, and the Sitting of the *Parliament*, requiring His Majeſty's Preſence in the Kingdom, He thought the Earl of *Marlborough* the moſt proper Perſon to head his Forces in the *Netherlands*. His Lordſhip landed at *Rotterdam*, the ſeven and twentieth of *May*, N. S. and proceeding to *Maeſtricht*, arrived there the ſecond of *June*. After

After having held a Conference here, with the Prince of *Waldeck*, on the Operations of the Campaign, they both ſet out, the next Day, for the Camp. 1689.

THE *Confederates*, being much inferiour to the Enemy in Strength, were obliged to act only on the Defenſive: They were encamp'd near a little Town call'd *Walcourt*, in ſuch Manner, that there was no attacking them without firſt taking that Place. The *French* having, therefore, attack'd *Walcourt*, the five and twentieth of *Auguſt*, N. S. the Earl of *Marlborough*, who, with the *Engliſh* Troops under his Command, made Part of thoſe, who guarded the main Paſs, diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in a very particular Manner, and gave a great Relief to the Commander in Chief of that Poſt. In ſhort, they made ſuch a continual and terrible Fire on the *French*, in Flank, as not only ſaved the whole Army, and gave them an Opportunity to make an orderly Retreat; but, at laſt, obliged the Enemy, who perceived they had engaged themſelves too far, to draw off their Troops in great Haſte and Diſorder, and to leave behind them ſome Cannon and Ammunition, and near 2000 Officers and Soldiers, kill'd and wounded; with the Loſs of about 300 Men only, on the Side of the *Allies*. The Earl's Conduct, on this Occaſion, was ſo remarkably prudent, that the Prince of *Waldeck* made him the higheſt Compliments thereupon, and told King *William*, *That he ſaw into the Art of a General, more in one Day, than others did in a great many Years.*

Battle of Walcourt.

The Earl's gallant Behaviour there.

Noble Teſtimony of the Prince of Waldeck.

THE *French*, who were not yet ſo well acquainted with the Courage and Conduct of the Earl, as they were afterwards, to their Coſt, mention

Teſtimony of the Enemy.

1690. mention the Courage of the *Engliſh*, in this Action, and one of their Authors, in particular, takes Notice of the Guards, and two *Engliſh* Regiments, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Malborck*. They allow, that they found their Deſign of forcing *Walcourt*, in Order to come at the *Confederate* Army, in open Field, impracticable, and that they were obliged to draw off their Troops; But pretend they did it in the greateſt Order: And the Author abovementioned, gives a long Liſt of Officers kill'd and wounded in this Action. He likewiſe allows, that they had 400 common Soldiers killed, and 600 wounded, and ſays the *Allies* own'd they loſt 300 Men, in this Action. The Loſs of the *French* was probably greater; For according to a Letter written by the Prince of *Waldeck*, ſix Battalions of *French* Guards were almoſt wholly cut of.

I DO not find that the Earl of *Marlborough* was employ'd any where, in the former Part of the Year, 1690. Tho', at the unfortunate Battle at *Flerus*, there were ſeveral Battalions of *Engliſh* Troops, particularly, one of the Guards, one of *Marlborough*'s, and one of *Churchill*'s: But his Lordſhip was ſent, towards the latter End of the Seaſon, General of the Forces which were ſent from *Portſmouth* into *Ireland*, where, notwithſtanding the Succeſs King *William* had, the foregoing Year, at and after the Battle of the *Boyne*, in Perſon, ſeveral Towns, and, in particular *Limerick*, *Cork*, and *Kingſale*, were yet in Poſſeſſion of the *French* and *Iriſh*, and their Forces were ſtill very numerous. This gave the Friends of King *James* ſome Hopes of reducing that Kingdom to his Obedience; But they were not a little ſurprized

The Earl of Marlborough ſent to command in Ireland.

to hear, that the *Engliſh* Fleet arrived before *Cork*-Harbour, the twenty-firſt of *September*, with ſome Forces under the Command of the Earl of *Marlborough*. 1690.

THE Project of taking the two latter of theſe important Places, in Winter, was firſt formed by the Earl. Our Fleet being out, and Maſters of the Sea, and the *French* Naval Force being retired to *Breſt*, the Earl of *Marlborough*, who was never ſo well pleaſed, as when in Action, propoſed to his Majeſty, who was then in that Kingdom, that five Thouſand Men, who had lain idle all the Summer, in *England*, ſhould be ſent to *Ireland*; And, with the Aſſiſtance of ſuch Men, as the King ſhould order to join them, attempt to take *Cork* and *Kingſale*. The King approved of the Motion, and ordered the Earl to come over himſelf with theſe Troops; And he left Orders for about five Thouſand Men more, that were there, to join him. Which done, He ended the Campaign, and came over to *Briſtol*, and thence to *London*, without having ſeen the Earl, who was detained longer than was expected by contrary Winds. Some have wonder'd, why the Earl did not ſerve, under the King, in *Ireland* before; And it has been ſaid, with what Truth, I ſhall not pretend to determine, that his Lordſhip had declin'd being in the Service, in that Kingdom, as long as King *James* was there in Perſon; But that no ſooner was this unfortunate Monarch departed, than he was ready to uſe his utmoſt Efforts, as we ſhall find he did, to reduce the Remainder of that Kingdom to the Obedience of his Succeſſor. *The Project formed by him.*

HIS Lordſhip, being to act, in this Expedition, in Concert with ſome other Troops, which

1690. which were ſent before, towards that Part of *Ireland*, immediately acquainted the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and Major-General *Scravenmore*, with his Arrival; And, the next Day, His Lordſhip finding, that the Enemy had a Battery of eight Guns, to oppoſe his Entry into the Harbour, he ſent three Boats on Shoar, full of the moſt reſolute of his Men, who, by a continual Fire, obliged the *Iriſh* to quit their Battery.

Drives the Enemy from a Battery.

THE twenty-third, the greateſt Part of the Land-forces were ſent up the Paſſages, ſix Miles from *Cork*, headed by the Duke of *Grafton*; And being come, the next Day, within a Mile of the Town, they began to mount their Cannon, and to begin a formal Siege, having near 600 Seamen, Gunners and Carpenters, who did them conſiderable Service.

Lays Siege to the Town.

THERE being a Report, that the Duke of *Berwick* deſigned to raiſe the Siege, Major-General *Scravenmore* ſent a Meſſenger to haſten the Duke of *Wirtemberg*'s March, and, on the five and twentieth, order'd a Party of Horſe to go and cover the Duke's Foot. The ſame Afternoon, Major-General *Tetteau*, with a Detachment of 1000 Men having drawn ſome Cannon to the *Fair-Hill*, reſolved to attack one or both of the new Forts, and new *Shannon* Caſtle; But the *Iriſh* no ſooner obſerved his Men poſted, in Order to that Deſign, than they ſet Fire to the Suburbs, between him and them, quitted both the Forts and Caſtles, and retir'd in Haſte into the Town; Upon which he poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Shannon*-Caſtle, and planted ſome Guns there. About the ſame Time, Major-General *Scravenmore* came with 1200 Horſe and Dragoons, and took up his Quarters at *Kill-Abby*.

The new Forts and Shannon-Caſtle taken.

On

On the ſix and twentieth, the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, with the *German* and *Daniſh* Forces under his Command, and Brigadier *La Meloniere*, with ſome *French* and *Dutch* Foot, joined them, according to the Orders they had received. 1690.

THE Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and the Earl of *Marlborough*, being both Lieutenant-Generals, a warm Diſpute aroſe between them, concerning the Chief Command. The Duke laid Claim to it, with ſome Heat, as a Prince; But the Earl, with his uſual Gentlemanlike Temper, inſiſted upon it's being his Right, not only as he was the elder Officer, but as he commanded the Troops of his own Nation, which were Principals in the Quarrel, whereas the Duke only commanded Auxiliaries. *Diſpute between the D. of* Wirtemberg *and the Earl of* Marlborough.

THE prudent Monſ. *la Meloniere* interpoſing, the Earl of *Marlborough*, leſt this untimely Diſpute ſhould retard the Operations of the Campaign, was induced, among other Inſtances of his wiſe and happy Conduct, to ſhare the Command with him, and, for the Service of his Country, deſiſted from a Part of his juſt Right. Accordingly, the Earl of *Marlborough* commanded the firſt Day, and gave the Word *Wirtemberg*; And the Duke of that Name commanding, the next Day, gave the Word *Marlborough*. *By the Earl's Prudence happily compoſed.*

THIS Difference being thus adjuſted, and the Enemy having, on the twenty ſeventh, abandon'd their Works at the *Cat-Fort*, without a Blow ſtruck, the *Engliſh* took Poſſeſſion of it, and having rais'd a Battery there, they threw their Bombs into the City, and play'd their Cannon on the Fort, from two Batteries, at the ſame Time. Being, likewiſe, Maſters of a Church,

1690. *Scravenmore* order'd a Party of Men into it, who, from thence, gall'd the *Iriſh*, within the Fort: All which, together with another Battery, erected by *Red-Abby*, ſoon made a Breach in the City-Wall; and thus, by the United Conduct and Bravery of the Commanders in Chief, the Beſieged were ſoon obliged to demand a Parly, and to give Hoſtages for a Truce; But they not accepting of the Terms offered them, the Beſiegers began to play again with their Cannon, very furiouſly: And a conſiderable Breach in the Walls being made, they were ready to ſtorm the Town. The *Danes*, from the *North*, and four Regiments of *Engliſh*, from the *South*, under Brigadier *Churchill*, paſs'd the River, up to their Armpits. The Grenadiers, under the Lord *Colcheſter*, led the Van, and marched forward with incredible Bravery, tho' expoſed, all the while, to the Enemy's Fire. They were greatly encouraged by the gallant Behaviour of the Duke of *Grafton*, the Lord *O Brian*, Colonel *Granville*, and ſome other reſolute Volunteers. In this Approach, however, the Duke of *Grafton* received a Wound in the Shoulder, of which he ſoon after died.

The Town of Cork capitulates.

The Duke of Grafton receives his Death's Wound

Cork *ſurrenders.*

All Things being now ready for a General Aſſault, the Beſieged thought fit to prevent it, by beating a ſecond Parly; and at laſt, the Earl of *Tyrone*, and Colonel *Rycaut*, being ſent from Colonel *Makilicut*, Governour of the Place, agreed to the Earl of *Marlborough*'s Conditions, which, being ſign'd, the 28th of *September*, were as follows.

Articles of Capitulation.

" That the Garriſon, conſiſting of 4000 " Men, ſhould be all Priſoners of War, both " Officers and Soldiers.

" That

1690.

" THAT no Prejudice ſhould be done to " them, or the Inhabitants.

" THAT the General would uſe his Endea- " vours to obtain His Majeſty's Clemency to- " wards them.

" THAT all the Arms, as well of the Inha- " bitants, as of the Garriſon, ſhould be ſe- " cured.

" THAT all the Proteſtant Priſoners ſhould " be ſet at Liberty.

" THAT the old Fort ſhould be deliver'd up " within an Hour, and the two Gates of the " City the next Morning.

" AND that an exact Account ſhould be " given of the Warlike Ammunitions and Pro- " viſions in the Magazines.

THE Priſoners of Note taken at *Cork*, were the Earls of *Clancarty* and *Tyrone*, the Governour of the Place, Colonel *Ricaut*, and ſeveral others.

The Earl prepares to beſiege Kingſale.

As the Earl was reſolved to purſue this good Succeſs, he immediately ſent away a Detachment of Horſe and Dragoons, under the Command of Brigadier *Villiers*, to ſummon the Town and Forts of *Kingsale*; and his Lordſhip ſetting out himſelf, from *Cork*, the firſt of *October*, arrived the ſame Day, at *Five-Mile-Bridge*, and, the next, before the Town; Which the *Iriſh*, upon his Approach had ſet Fire to, and were retired into the *Old Fort*. He form'd his Camp, the ſame Evening, and gave Directions to make his Approaches towards the *New Fort*, while Major-General *Tettau* was ordered to attack the *Old Fort*.

HE found theſe two Forts, which commanded the Port, to be much ſtronger, than the Plans had repreſented them to be; and it was re-

1690. ported, that His Lordſhip himſelf was heard to ſay, if he had known their true Strength, he had never undertaken the Expedition, in a Seaſon ſo far advanced. Being, however, there, this did not diſcourage his dauntleſs and enterprizing Genius; He reſolved to puſh for it.

The Old Fort *taken by a Stratagem.* GENERAL *Tettau* having paſs'd the River, with the Troops appointed for that Service, in Boats, the next Morning, made a Feint, according to the Orders given him, of ſtorming the *Fort*, in the weakeſt Place, where moſt of the Beſieged were got together, and in a Readineſs to receive him. In the mean Time, another Detachment made a bold Aſſault, in another Place, where they were leaſt expected, and, by that Means, ſoon became Maſters of a Baſtion. While this was doing, ſeveral Barrels of Powder, accidentally taking Fire, blew up near forty of the *Iriſh*; Upon which the Reſt retired into an Old Caſtle, in the Midſt of the Fort, and immediately ſubmitted to be Priſoners of War; Having loſt about 200 Men, out of 450.

The New Fort *beſieged*; THE Earl of *Marlborough*, reſolved to improve this Advantage; And the Weather being now grown very bad, and Proviſions ſcarce, the Men withal beginning to be ſickly, he ſent, hereupon, to ſummon the *New Fort*, which was much the ſtronger of the two; But the Governour, Sir *Edward Scot*, haughtily anſwered: *It would be Time enough to talk of that a Month afterwards.* Upon this, the Trenches were open'd, the fifth of *October*, and, by the ninth, were advanced to the Counterſcarp; But bad Weather prevented the Cannon from coming up 'till the eleventh. A conſiderable Breach, and a falſe Attack, being made, every Thing

Thing was prepared for the Storm; But the Enemy thought fit to prevent it, by Beating a Parly. The fifteenth, Hoſtages were exchanged, and the Articles, being agreed on, were ſigned about Midnight. The Middle Baſtion was to be delivered up the next Morning, and the Garriſon, which conſiſted of about eleven Hundred Men, was to march out, the next Day after, with Arms and Baggage, to be conducted to *Limerick*. They found in the Fort a very conſiderable Magazine, and Plenty of all Sorts of Proviſions and Liquors. 1690.

And taken by Capitulation.

THE *Iriſh* never attempted to raiſe the Siege; They drew, indeed, their Forces together; And, as they durſt not venture on raiſing it, in ſome Meaſure to divert it, they put the Country, the beſt built of any in *Ireland*, all around in a Flame.

Good Effects of theſe Advantages.

THIS Sea-Port was called the Key of *Ireland*, and by the Taking of this, and that of *Cork*, an effectual Stop was put to the bringing of any Supplies from *France*, at leaſt on the *Southern* Coaſts; And the *Iriſh* were confin'd almoſt to the Province of *Ulſter*, where they found more Difficulties to ſubſiſt, than in any other Part of *Ireland*.

ANOTHER good Effect of this Deſign was viſible even before the Troops were landed; For, upon the firſt News of the *Engliſh* Fleet ſailing for *Ireland*, Count *Lauzun*, fearful of being block'd up at *Galloway*, and withal weary of the Service, and glad of an Opportunity to get out of it, departed thence, with the Duke of *Tyrconnel*, Monſ. *Boiſſelau*, and the miſerable Remains of his *French* Troops, leaving the General Command of the *Iriſh* to the Duke

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1690. of *Berwick*, which afterwards fell to Monſ. *St. Ruth*.

The Earl of Marlborough *returns to* England.

THIS Glorious Expedition being happily brought to a Concluſion, with very little Loſs, in almoſt as ſhort a Time, as, at that Seaſon of the Year, the Voyage itſelf could reaſonably be expected to be made; the Earl of *Marlborough*, having left all the Troops under the Command of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, who was Commander in Chief of the *German* and *Daniſh* Troops, embarked again, and arrived at *Kenſington*, the eight and twentieth of *October*. He was very favourably received by His Majeſty, who had the greateſt Opinion of his Courage and Conduct, and was heard to ſay; *That he knew no Man ſo fit for a General, who had ſeen ſo few Campaigns.*

King William's *Opinion of the Earl*

He returns to Ireland,

THE Earl did not, however, make any long Stay in *England*; But, having made a Report to His Majeſty of the State of Affairs of *Ireland*, was immediately order'd back again thither, to continue the Services he had ſo happily begun; Which he perform'd with great Vigour and Fidelity. During the Courſe of the whole Winter, he prevented the Excurſions of the *Iriſh* Rebels, who attempted to commit great Ravages in the conquer'd Provinces; And raiſed ſeveral Forts to put a Stop to their Fury.

And does conſiderable Service.

1691. THE next Year, his Lordſhip made the Campaign under King *William*. His Majeſty, who had before been in *Holland* this Spring, at the moſt illuſtrious Congreſs, that ever had been ſeen at the *Hague*, and was return'd, after about three Weeks Stay, ſet out again from *Kenſington*, the firſt of *May*, accompanied by the Lord *Sidney*, and the Earls of *Marlborough* and

The Earl ſerves under the King in Flanders.

and *Portland*. He went firſt to *Loo*, where he again ſhewed the favourable Opinion he had of the Earl of *Marlborough*'s Conduct, by ſending him, and the Count *de Solmes*, beforehand, from thence to *Flanders*, to put all Things in a Readineſs for Opening the Campaign, and to draw the Army together againſt his Arrival. 1691.

Is ſent to aſſemble the Army.

THESE Orders were given, upon the Advice His Majeſty received of the Deſigns of the *French* upon *Mons*, which His moſt *Chriſtian* Majeſty afterward beſieg'd, in Perſon, and took. The Earl was ſo aſſiduous in preparing for the Relief of this important Place; That, if the *States-General* had given Ear to his Propoſals, in all Appearance, the Enemy would have been obliged to have quitted their Enterprize, and have thought themſelves happy, if they had come off ſo, without an entire Defeat: At leaſt, this was the Opinion of Prince *Vaudemont*; Who being, ſome Time afterwards, at *Loo*, gave the following Glorious Character of his Lordſhip, to King *William*. "There is "ſomething (*ſaid the Prince*) in the Earl of "*Marlborough*, that is inexpreſſible; For the "*Fire* of *Kirk*, the *Thought* of *Lanier*, the "*Skill* of *Mackay*, and the *Bravery* of *Col-*"*cheſter*, ſeem to be united in his Perſon: "And I have loſt my Knowledge in Phy-"ſiognomy, which hitherto never deceived "me, if any Subject you have can ever attain "to ſuch Military Glory, as this *Combination* "of *Sublime Perfections* muſt one Day advance "him to". The Prince ſeems to have had a Prophetick Spirit. His Majeſty, ſmiling, anſwered, *He believ'd that* Marlborough *would do his Part to make his Words good.*

Propoſes to relieve Mons.

But is thwarted by the Dutch.

Prince Vaudemont's *Character of the Earl.*

1691. THE thirty first of *May*, N. S. His Majeſty left *Loo* himſelf, and, paſſing thro' *Breda*, headed the *Confederate* Army. As nothing happened very remarkable, during this Campaign, in which we find any Mention made of the Earl, I ſhall only in general obſerve, that our Monarch diſappointed *Boufflers* in his Attempt upon *Liege*; But, in vain, endeavoured to bring the Marſhal *de Luxembourg* to an Engagement; So that, after ſeveral Marches and Countermarches, the King ended the Campaign, with the taking of *Beaumont*, left the Army, the ſeventeenth of *September*, and, on the nineteenth of *October*, landed in *England*, being accompanied, among other Noblemen, by the Earl of *Marlborough*.

The Earl returns with the King to England.

1692. THE Earl was again nominated to ſerve under the King in the Quality of a General Officer, the next Campaign; but, as his faithful Services had endeared him to every Well-wiſher to our eſtabliſh'd Religion and Liberties, how great was the Surprize and Mortification to the Nation, to hear, ſoon after, that, when Fortune ſeem'd to ſmile moſt favourably upon him, he was, at once, removed from his Employments of Lieutenant-General of the Infantry, which was given to Colonel *Talmaſh*, Colonel of the third Troop of Guards, which was conferr'd on the Lord *Colcheſter*, and of a Regiment of Fuſileers, which was beſtowed upon the Lord *George Hamilton*; but his Place of Gentleman of His Majeſty's Bed-Chamber, tho' he was depriv'd of it, remain'd vacant for a Time!

The Earl of Marlborough *in Diſgrace.*

VARIOUS were the Cauſes which were aſſign'd for this ſudden Change, according to the Affections People bore him; and ſome Stories

Several Reaſons aſſign'd for it.

Stories were divulged to his Diſadvantage, tho' with little or no Grounds. His Lordſhip's Loyalty could not well be arraign'd by his worſt Enemies: He loved his Country too well to be Male-content with his King, tho' removed out of his Favour, without his Deſerts: And it is evident, he could be no Ways engag'd in the Intereſt of his former Maſter; ſince, in this very ſame Year, when King *James* was about to invade *England*, and a formal Declaration was privately handed about in his Name, with a Pardon annexed, for thoſe who ſhould return to their Duty, the Earl of *Marlborough*, by the Title of Lord *Churchill*, was excepted out of this Pardon. When he retired, which was with the Calmneſs of the old *Roman Dictator*, he wiſhed to be ſucceeded by a better Servant, and one more concerned for His Majeſty's Honour. 1692.

SOME, who pretended to look narrowly into Affairs, would have his Diſgrace owing to Jealouſies certain Foreigners had conceived, of his not being inclined to their Intereſts, and to make Way for one of them (by ſome ſaid to be Count *Solmes*) to command in his Room; But this could only affect his Employment abroad. The Proofs he had given of his conſummate Knowledge in Military Affairs ſhewed, that His Majeſty's *Engliſh* Subjects merited the higheſt Poſts in the Army; tho', it has been obſerved, they were not enough countenanc'd by the King. It was ſaid, that all the Reſentment was for the Liberty he had taken to tell the King, *That tho' himſelf had no Reaſon to complain, yet many of His good Subjects were ſorry to ſee His Royal Munificence confin'd to one or two Foreign Lords.* Foreign Hiſtori-

ans

1692. ans make no Scruple to name the Earl of *Portland* and *Rochford*, both *Dutchmen*, to be the Lords here aim'd at: And add, that the King turned his Back upon the Earl, without making any Anſwer, and ſoon after ſent him a Dimiſſion of all his Employs, and forbid him the Court. Thoſe who aſcribe the Jealouſy or Envy of Foreign Officers as a Reaſon for his Lordſhip's Diſgrace, think it a Confirmation of their Opinion, that the Earl was not employ'd again, nor called to Council, till this Motive ceaſed, and an End was put to the War, by the Peace of *Ryſwick*.

A Paſſage of a late Author, to this Purpoſe.

A PASSAGE of a late Author ſeems likewiſe, to juſtify this Opinion. " The King (ſays this Author) was thought to love the *Dutch* " more than the *Engliſh*, to truſt more to " them, and to admit them to more Freedom " with him. He gave too much Occaſion to " a general Diſguſt, which was ſpread, both a- " mong the *Engliſh* Officers, and the Nobility: " He took little Pains to gain the Affections " of the Nation; nor did he conſtrain himſelf " enough to render His Government more ac- " ceptable. He was ſhut up all the Day " long; and his Silence, when he admitted any " to an Audience, diſtaſted them as much, as " if they had been denied it. The Earl of " *Marlborough* thought, that the great Ser- " vices he had done, were not acknowledged " nor rewarded, as they well deſerved, and " began to ſpeak like a Man diſcontented. " The Strain of all the Nation almoſt was, " that the *Engliſh* were overlooked, and the " *Dutch* were the only Perſons favoured or " truſted.

Not-

NOTWITHSTANDING this Obſervation of our Author, which was made upon another Occaſion, he aſſigns another Reaſon for the Earl's Diſgrace: It may not be amiſs to give my Readers his Account of it in his own Words: 1692.

His Opinion of this Matter.

"AN Incident (ſays my Author) happen'd, "near the End of the Seſſion of *Parliament*, "that had very ill Effects, which I unwillingly "mention, becauſe it cannot be told without ſome "Reflections on the Queen, whom I always ho- "noured, beyond all the Perſons I had ever "known. The Earl of *Nottingham* came to the "Earl of *Marlborough*, with a Meſſage from the "King, telling him, that he had no more Uſe "for his Service, and therefore He demanded all "his Commiſſions. What drew ſo ſudden "and ſo hard a Meſſage was not known; "for he had been with the King that Morn- "ing, and had parted with him in the or- "dinary Manner. It ſeemed ſome Letter was "intercepted, which gave Suſpicion. It is "certain, that he thought he was too little "conſider'd, and that he had, upon many Oc- "caſions, cenſured the King's Conduct, and re- "flected on the *Dutch*. But the Original Cauſe "of his Diſgrace aroſe from another Conſide- "ration: The Princeſs (*Ann* of *Denmark*) "thought herſelf too much neglected by the "King, whoſe cold Way towards Her was "ſoon obſerved: After the King was on the "Throne, no Propoſitions were made to her "of a Settlement, nor any Advances of Mony: "So She, thinking She was to be kept in a "neceſſitous Dependance on the Court, got "ſome to move in the *Houſe of Commons*, "in the Year 1690. when they were in the De- "bate concerning the Revenue, *that ſhe ſhould*

"*have*

1692. " *have Aſſignments ſuitable to her Dignity.* This
" both the King and Queen took amiſs from
" Her; the Queen complained more particu-
" larly, that She was then ill, after Her ly-
" ing in of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, at *Hamp-*
" *ton*-Court, and that She Herſelf was treat-
" ing Her, and the young Child, with the
" Tenderneſs of a Mother, and that yet ſuch
" a Motion was made, before She had tried,
" in a private Manner, what the King in-
" tended to aſſign her. The Princeſs, on the
" other Hand, ſaid, She knew the Queen was
" a good Wife, ſubmiſſive and obedient to
" every Thing that the King deſired; ſo
" She thought the beſt was to have a Settle-
" ment by Act of *Parliament*. On the o-
" ther Hand, the Cuſtom had always been,
" that the Royal Family (a Prince of *Wales*
" not excepted) was kept in a Dependance on
" the King, and had no Allowance, but from
" His meer Favour and Kindneſs; yet, in
" this Caſe, in which the Princeſs was put out
" of the Succeſſion, during the King's Life,
" it ſeemed reaſonable, that ſomewhat more
" than ordinary ſhould be done in Conſide-
" ration of that. The Act paſſed, allowing
" Her a Settlement of fifty thouſand Pounds:
" But, upon this, a Coldneſs followed, be-
" tween, not only the King, but even the
" Queen and the Princeſs; and the Blame of
" this Motion was caſt on the Counteſs of
" *Marlborough*, as moſt in Favour with
" the Princeſs: And this had contributed
" much to alienate the King from her Huſ-
" band, and had diſpoſed Him to receive ill
" Impreſſions of him.

" Upon

" UPON his Diſgrace, his Lady was forbid 1692.
" the Court; the Princeſs would not ſubmit
" to this; She thought, She ought to be
" allowed to keep what Perſons She pleaſed
" about Her ſelf; and when the Queen in-
" ſiſted on the Thing, She retired from the
" Court. There were, no Doubt, ill Offices
" done on all Hands, and there were ſome that
" preſſed the Princeſs to ſubmit to the Queen,
" as well as others who preſſed the Queen to
" paſs it over; but without Effect: Both
" had engaged themſelves, before they had
" well reflected on the Conſequences of ſuch
" a Breach: And the Matter went ſo far,
" that the Queen ordered, that no publick
" Honours ſhould be ſhewed the Princeſs,
" beſides many other leſs Matters, which I
" unwillingly reflect on, becauſe I was much
" troubled to ſee the Queen carry ſuch a
" Matter ſo far; and the Breach continued
" to the End of Her Life. The Enemies of
" the Government tried what could be made
" of this, to create Diſtractions among us;
" but the Princeſs gave no Encouragement to
" them: So that this Miſunderſtanding had
" no other Effect, but that it gave Enemies
" much ill-natur'd Joy, and a ſecret ſpiteful
" Diverſion.

THUS his Author makes the Original Cauſe of the Earl's Diſgrace, to be an Incident which happened two Years before; Tho' during thoſe two Years, the King ſhewed no Sign of it; But, on the contrary, gave him all Marks of His Eſteem, and of the High Opinion He had of his Capacity. Perhaps this might co-operate with the other Reaſons alledged; And tho' the King might, during that Time, ſtifle His Reſentment *Reflections on his Opinion.*

1692. Reſentment on this Account, in Conſideration of his great Services; Yet, when fired by new Cauſes of Diſpleaſure, or, at leaſt, what he thought ſo, it might break a-new into a Flame, and help to determine His Majeſty to proceed in this Manner. The Author of the Continuation of *Rapin*, tho' he mentions another Reaſon, which I ſhall, likewiſe, take Notice of below, ſeems alſo, to be of Opinion, that this was the real, or at leaſt principal Cauſe of his Diſgrace. His Lady underwent the ſame Fate, and was likewiſe forbid the Court; Which Her Royal Highneſs, the Princeſs of *Denmark*, thought a great Hardſhip upon Her. She complain'd of it to the Queen; But, having no Satisfaction given Her, She retired Herſelf from Court, 'till after the Death of the Queen.

It was obſerv'd, that the very Morning before the Earl's Diſgrace, he waited upon the King, to introduce the Lord *George Hamilton*, now Earl of *Orkney*, to His Majeſty; And met with a moſt favourable Reception: But that very Afternoon, the ſame Lord *George Hamilton* was, as I have been inform'd, by a Gentleman of Worth, not only ſent to acquaint his Lordſhip, that the King had no farther Occaſion for his Service, but ſucceeded him as Colonel of a Regiment of Fuſileers. Notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid above, this ſudden Change in the Mind of the King, makes it reaſonable to believe, that ſome unforeſeen Incident at leaſt blew up the Coals, at this Time, if it was not the ſole Occaſion of His Majeſty's Diſpleaſure.

Another Reaſon aſſign'd. There has indeed been yet another Reaſon aſſign'd for it; But with what Grounds I ſhall not pretend to determine; *viz.* That the Earl had

had reveal'd to his Lady a Secret, which His Majeſty had entruſted him with: The Author of the Continuation of *Rapin* names this Secret, and ſays it was a private Deſign on *Dunkirk*; Which it was pretended the Counteſs diſcover'd to Sir *Theophilus Oglethorp*'s Lady; As there was ſuch a Deſign form'd about this Time, which miſcarried; And it would not have been ſo very decent, either for the King, or the Miniſtry, to have own'd either of the other Reaſons, which I have mention'd above; It may not be unnatural to ſuppoſe, that whether the Earl, or his Lady ever had, or had not, let drop any Expreſſions tending to a Diſcovery of this Matter, that it may have been made Uſe of as an Excuſe to cover the real Reaſons of their Diſgrace. 1692.

THE Earl, in the mean Time, had his Friends at Court, and in the King's Favour, who did not ceaſe to repreſent to His Majeſty how little he deſerved ſuch Treatment. Admiral *Ruſſel*, in particular, put himſelf in ill Terms with the King, on that Account, by preſſing to know the Grounds of the Earl's Diſgrace. "He had not only (ſays a late Au- "thor) lived in great Friendſhip with him, "but had carried the firſt Meſſages, that had "paſſed between him and the King when he "went over to *Holland*; He almoſt upbraided "the King with the Earl of *Marlborough*'s Ser- "vice, who, as he ſaid, had ſet the Crown on "his Head. *Several Perſons of Diſtinction intereſt themſelves for the Earl.*

Not long after, the Earl of *Marlborough*, and ſome other Peers, were put in the *Tower*, upon a falſe Accuſation of High Treaſon, which was evidently proved to be a Conſpiracy of ſome profligate Wretches, who fancied that *The Earl of* Marlb. *put in the* Tower;

Forgeries

1692. Forgeries and falſe Swearing would be acceptable and rewarded. There was an *Aſſociation* pretended to be drawn againſt the Government, to which the Subſcriptions were ſet ſo Dexterouſly, that thoſe very Lords themſelves allow'd, they could not diſtinguiſh between their true Subſcriptions, and thoſe which were forged for them. But the Manner of the Diſcovery, with ſeveral other Circumſtances, carried ſuch evident Marks of Impoſture, that the Lords of the Council ordered a ſtrict Proſecution of all concerned in it, which ended in a full Conviction of the Forgery; And thoſe who had combined in it were whipp'd and pilloried, a Puniſhment far from being adequate to their Crime.

On Account of a forged Aſſociation.

The Villany detected;

And the Authors of it puniſhed.

Some Remarks on this Matter.

"THE *Parliament* was, on this Account, opened "under great Diſadvantages. The Peers, who "had been falſly accuſed, were, indeed, diſcharged "from their Impriſonment, but it was upon Bail "only; So it was ſaid to be contrary to the "Nature and Freedom of Parliaments, for "Priſoners to ſit in it. It was confeſſed, that "in Times of Danger, and ſuch was the fore-"going Summer, it muſt be truſted to the Diſ-"cretion of a Government, to commit ſuch "Perſons as were ſuſpected: But when the "Danger was over, by our Victory at Sea, "thoſe againſt whom there lay nothing beſides "Suſpicions, ought to have been ſet at Liber-"ty, and this was thought reaſonable. The "Lords paſſed ſome Votes, aſſerting their "Privileges; And were offended with the "Judges, for detaining ſome in Priſon tho' "there was no Reaſon nor Colour for their "Diſpleaſure. But where the Privilege, or "the

" the Dignity of Peerage is in Queſtion, it is 1692.
" not eaſy to keep the Houſe within Bounds.
" THE Debate went off in a Bill, that in-
" demnified the Miniſtry for thoſe Commit-
" ments; But limited them, for the future,
" by ſeveral Rules; All which Rules were
" rejected by the *Commons*. They believ'd
" thoſe Limitations gave a legal Power to
" commit, in Caſes where they were obſerved;
" Whereas they thought, the ſafer Way was,
" to indemnify the Miniſtry, when it was vi-
" ſible they did not commit any but upon a
" real Danger, and not to ſet them any Rules;
" Since, as to the committing of ſuſpected
" Perſons, where the Danger is real and viſible,
" the Publick Safety muſt be firſt look'd to,
" and ſuperſede all particular Laws.

THE Earl of *Marlborough* having paſs'd the 1694. *Death of Q. Mary.*
Remainder of the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, in a quiet Retirement, without appearing in any remarkable Scene of Action, I ſhall conclude this Chapter, with juſt mentioning the Death of Queen *Mary*. This amiable, virtuous Princeſs died of the Small Pox, the eight and twentieth of *December*, 1694.

CHAP. II.

TRANSACTIONS *during the Reign of King* WILLIAM III.

1695.

THE Death of Queen *Mary*, tho' it gave Occaſion to what we may call a new Reign; Yet made no Alteration but in the Royal Title, which now, inſtead of that of *William* *Oppoſition made to the Validity of the King's Title, after the Queen's Death;*

1695. *William* and *Mary*, was changed to *William* III. There were not, indeed wanting, reſtleſs Spirits, who, notwithſtanding the Order of Succeſſion, ſettled and eſtabliſhed at the Revolution, pretended to inſinuate, that the Princeſs of *Denmark* ought immediately to ſucceed Her Siſter, who alone had a Right to the Throne; And as King *William* acceeded to it, in Her Right only, that Right ceaſed by Her Death, and of Courſe devolved to the next Heir. Theſe Pretences being directly oppoſite to an expreſs Act of *Parliament* fell away of Courſe: But the ſame Party, which made this Oppoſition to King *William*'s Right, being defeated in their Expectations, rais'd another Objection, which, at firſt View, ſeemed to carry ſomething more of Reaſon with it, *viz.* That the preſent *Parliament*, having been conven'd in the Name of *William* and *Mary*, was of Courſe diſſolved, by the Death of this Princeſs. This Poſition, had it taken Place, might, at this Time, have been of infinite Prejudice to the King and Nation. All publick Affairs muſt have been ſuſpended, at a Time when every Interruption would have been pernicious. New Elections might have caus'd great Diſorders, throughout the whole Kingdom, and a New Parliament might have been of yet worſe Conſequence; But it happily appear'd, that the ſame Act, which veſted King *William* and Queen *Mary* with the Royal Dignity, veſted King *William* with the ſole and whole Adminiſtration of the Government, which fully anſwered this Objection, and put an End to that pernicious Project.

And to the Eſſence of the ſame Parliament:

But in vain.

THE Earl of *Marlborough* having been diſgrac'd by King *William*, in the Manner I have deſcribed

deſcrib'd above, without any particular Cauſe being aſſign'd; And as well he, as his Counteſs, being ſo immediately attach'd to the Intereſt of the Princeſs of *Denmark*; It might have been expected, that he would have been at the Head of theſe Oppoſitions; But the Good of his Country was always a Conſideration with him, primary to all other, and I do not ſo much as find him mention'd on this Occaſion. 1696. *The Earl of* Marlb. *not concern'd in theſe Oppoſitions.*

IN the Year 1696. the Earl of *Marlborough* was again falſely accuſed of being in King *James*'s Intereſt, by Sir *John Fenwick*; Which happened in the following Manner. *The Earl of* Marlb. *accuſed by Sir* John Fenwick;

WHEN *Fenwick* was firſt taken, he wrote a Letter to his Lady, to inform her of his Misfortune, and acquainting her, that he looked on himſelf as a dead Man, unleſs powerful Application could be made for him, or ſome of the Jury could be bribed to ſtarve out the Reſt. This Letter was intercepted. At his firſt Examination, before the Lords Juſtices, he flatly denied every Thing; But, when this Letter was ſhewn him, he was confounded. In his private Treaty with the Duke of *Devonſhire*, he inſiſted upon an Aſſurance of Life, upon his Promiſe of diſcovering all he knew. This the King refuſed, and would have it left to Himſelf to judge of the Integrity and Importance of theſe Diſcoveries. *Fenwick* reſolving, therefore, to throw himſelf on the King's Mercy, ſent His Majeſty a Paper, in which, after a large Account of the Conſultations among the *Jacobites*, he ſaid in general, there was in *England*, a ſettled Number of Perſons to manage the Affairs of King *James:* And being afterwards put upon to name thoſe Perſons, and to deſcend to Particulars, he gave in another

1696. Writing, wherein, among other Things, he pretended, that King *James*, and thoſe who were employed by him, had aſſured the *Jacobites*, that the Earls of *Shrewſbury*, *Bath*, and *Marlborough*, the Lord *Godolphin*, and Admiral *Ruſſel*, were reconciled to him, and were now in his Intereſts, and acting for him; That *Shrewſbury* came again into the Office of Secretary of State, by the Operation and Conſent of King *James*; And that his Grace was in Treaty with that Monarch, before he laid down the Seals; That the Lord *Marlborough* had promis'd King *James* ſome Service, which had inclin'd his Majeſty to promiſe him his Pardon; That the Earl of *Bath* was to betray *Plymouth*, into the Hands of the *French* King; That Admiral *Ruſſel* and the Lord *Godolphin* had likewiſe undertaken particular Services; And that Commiſſary *Crawford* had ſent over to *France* a Liſt of the Forces in *England*. Theſe Informations, at firſt, ſtartled not only the Court, but the King himſelf, and gain'd Sir *John Fenwick* ſome Time: But as he did not offer the leaſt Appearance of Proof, or Circumſtance, to corroborate his Aſſertions, not even that could amount to a Preſumption, to ſupport his Accuſation, this pretended Diſcovery could, at moſt, go no farther than to raiſe the King's Jealouſy of thoſe Perſons; But, with every impartial Perſon, it could be look'd on as no more than a mean Prevarication, without any Grounds. And his ſhuffling Behaviour afterwards before the *Houſe of Commons*, was more than a ſufficient Proof of it. As ſuch, likewiſe, that *Houſe* treated it; And, to do Juſtice to the Loyalty of theſe injured Noblemen, and entirely to clear them, from theſe falſe Accuſations, voted; That

That the Papers which had been read, entitled: Sir *John Fenwick*'s Informations, accuſing ſeveral Peers of the Realm, of Diſloyalty, were falſe and ſcandalous, tending to the Subverſion of the Government, to raiſe a Jealouſy between the King and his Subjects, and to ſtifle the Truth of the Controverſy. And theſe Prevarications are ſuppoſed to have been one great Inducement, with many Members, to concur in the Bill of Attainder, which brought him to the Scaffold. 1696. *But acquitted by the Par. liament.*

A LATE Author ſays, *Fenwick* was put upon this Artifice to ſave his Life, or at leaſt to gain Time, by the Earl of *Monmouth*, formerly known by the Name of Lord *Mordaunt*; Who (he adds) was the Contriver of it, more out of Spleen or Revenge againſt certain Perſons, who he thought were more favour'd than he, than to ſerve *Fenwick*. To this End, he drew up certain Inſtructions, which he put into the Hands of the Ducheſs of *Norfolk*, to be convey'd to the Priſoner; Who finding it accompanied with Threats and Promiſes, according to the Uſe he ſhould make of thoſe Inſtructions, he thereupon formed the Accuſation I have given an Account of above.

IT has been obſerved, that King *William*, ever after the Death of His beloved Conſort, Queen *Mary*, of bleſſed Memory, had ſhewn a more than ordinary Fondneſs for the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who was now entering on the tenth Year of his Age, and had given ſuch Proofs of a forward Genius, that it was high Time to take him out of the Hands of the Lady *Fitzharding*, his Governeſs. The King, therefore, applied himſelf to the forming of a Family, and a Court, for this hopeful Young *The Earl of* Marlb. *made Governour to the D. of Glouceſter*;

1698. Prince. It was then, that ſeveral great Men, who were the trueſt Patriots about the King, again repreſented to His Majeſty, that it was Pity that ſo able a Man, as the Earl of *Marlborough*, ſhould be laid by, as uſeleſs and forgotten, and propos'd bringing him again to the King's nearer Converſation, by perſuading His Majeſty to conſtitute him Governour to His Highneſs, the Duke of *Glouceſter*. Others, indeed ſay, that it was meerly to oblige his affectionate Mother, the Princeſs; Be this as it will, the King was pleaſed, on the nineteenth of *June*, tho' many others had made Intereſt for this important Charge, to appoint the Right Honourable, *John* Earl of *Marlborough*, to be Governour to His Highneſs; And that it was as a Mark of the good Opinion His Majeſty had for his Lordſhip's Zeal for His Service, and his Qualifications for an Employment of ſo great a Truſt, that His Majeſty gave him this Employ, preferable to many Competitors of the higheſt Diſtinction, is evident, becauſe when He deliver'd the young Prince to him, He ſaid: *My Lord, teach him but to be what you are, and my Nephew cannot want Accompliſhments:* Than which, His Majeſty could not have beſtow'd a greater Encomium upon him. The ſame Evening, his Lordſhip was ſworn of the Privy Council, and took his Place there, accordingly.

And Privy-Counſellour.

Senſe of the Houſe of Commons, *with Regard to the Earl of* Marlb.

WHAT Senſe the Nation in general had of the Earl of *Marlborough*'s Qualifications for ſo high a Truſt, as Governour to the Prince, who was next to the Preſumptive Heir to the Crown, we may ſee by the following Inſtance of the Approbation the *Houſe of Commons* expreſs'd on this Occaſion: Biſhop *Burnet* was

appointed,

appointed, at the ſame Time, to be his Highneſs's Preceptor, with which Her Royal Highneſs, the Princeſs, was not altogether ſatisfied; But the *Houſe of Commons* ſhewed a greater Diſlike of the Choice, when it being moved, whether a *Scotchman*, and a Perſon who had ſuch Notions of Government (ſome added Religion too) as the Biſhop had publiſhed, in a Paſtoral Letter, which had been cenſured by that Houſe, was qualified to be near a Prince, who was next to the Preſumptive Heir of the Crown? Tho', indeed, the Affirmative carried it, in Favour of the Prelate; Yet it was with this *Proviſo*, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Earl of *Marlborough*, and the Earl of *Dorſet*, ſhould overlook his Conduct. 1689.

Biſhop Burnet *made Preceptor to the Duke of* Glouceſter.

The Parliament *diſlike him.*

THE Author of Biſhop *Burnet*'s Life, affix'd to the ſecond Volume of his Hiſtory of his own Times, gives, however, a very different Account of this Matter, as far as regards the Biſhop, back'd by the Authority of ſome Letters, of which, he ſays, he has the Originals in his Hands. To avoid the Cenſure of Partiality, as the above ſeems to caſt ſome Reflection on the Biſhop, I ſhall add that Account.

IN the Year 1698, when it became neceſſary to ſettle the Duke of *Glouceſter*'s Family, the King ſent the Earl of *Sunderland*, with a Meſſage to the Princeſs of *Denmark*, acquainting her, "That he put the whole Management of "his Son's Houſhold into her Hands; But "that he owed the Care of his Education, to "himſelf, and his People, and therefore would "name the Perſons for that Purpoſe". Accordingly, the Earl of *Marlborough* being nominated his Governour, the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*

His Son's Account of this Matter.

1698. was appointed his Preceptor. He was then retired into his Dioceſe, having lately loſt his Wife by the ſmall Pox. He took that Occaſion, therefore, to wave the Offer of this important Charge; tho' he was aſſured, the Princeſs had teſtify'd her Approbation of the King's Choice. He wrote to the Earl of *Sunderland*, to uſe his Intereſt, that he might be excuſed, and in return received from him the following Letter.

Which he endeavours to decline.

My Lord, *June* 29.

A Letter from the Earl of Sunderland *to Biſhop* Burnet.

"I AM extremely troubled for your Loſs, it "being, by all that I have heard, a very "great One: But you muſt not leave ſerving the "Publick, upon any private Conſideration. I "intend to be in Town next Week, and if "I have any Credit at all, you may be aſſured, "that you ſhall be ſent for, and ſhall come "thither, unleſs you will fall out with all "Your Friends, and with the King in the firſt "Place. I am, with great Truth,

My Lord,

Your moſt faithful humble Servant,

SUNDERLAND.

THE Biſhop wrote, likewiſe, to his Friend, Archbiſhop *Tenniſon*, deſiring him to wait on the King, in his Name, and intreat His Majeſty, to allow him to decline this Employment: The Archbiſhop replied, and offer'd many Arguments to perſwade him to accept of it; which only produc'd a ſecond Letter, ſtronger

ſtronger than the former, and to the ſame Purpoſe: To which his Grace, by King *William*'s Direction, returned the following Anſwer. 1698.

Lambeth, June 28. 1698.

My Lord,

A Letter from the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to Bp. Burnet.

"I RECEIVED your Second, in which you "ſeem to inſiſt on the Contents of the Firſt; "upon that Account I waited on the King, "not being willing to decline doing, what "you ſo earneſtly preſs'd. The King ex"preſs'd himſelf, with great Tenderneſs upon "this Subject; He commanded me to let you "underſtand, that He had ſent for you, before "this Time, if this Misfortune had not hap"pened, and that He ſtill deſires you to come, "as ſoon as with Decency you can. He "looks upon you, as a Divine, who in ſuch "Caſes had comforted many, and thinks it "will look beſt, not to ſuffer ſuch a Croſs "to get ſuch Power over you, as to make "you decline ſo publick a Service. He "ſpoke to this Effect, without my urging "my private Opinion, which is, what it was "in my Firſt. I heartily pray for you, I "pity you as my own Brother, but I cannot "bring myſelf in this to be of your Lordſhip's "Opinion. It is true, if no Steps had been "made in this Affair, your Excuſe would the "eaſier have made its Way; But Things are "ſo far advanc'd, it ſeems not proper to go "back. If upon this, that hopeful Prince "ſhall fall into ſuch Hands, as are unfit, "your Lordſhip would then reflect, upon your "having declined the Service, with Pain and "Grief. Pray, next Poſt, let me have ſome

"Anſwer

1698. " Anſwer, our good Maſter, the King, may " be pleaſed with. I am,

My Lord,

Your Affectionate Brother,

THO. CANTUAR.

As the reſt of the Biſhop's Friends concurred in the ſame Strain, earneſtly preſſing him, not to refuſe a Station, wherein he might do his Country ſuch ſingular Service, as in the right Education of the Duke of *Glouceſter*; He thought it might be accounted Obſtinacy not to ſubmit. He, therefore, ſignified his Compliance, in his Anſwer to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; who thereupon wrote him another Letter, which I ſhall here inſert.

Kenſington, July 4. 1698.

My Lord,

A ſecond Letter from the ſame.

" LATE laſt Night, the King ſpoke again " about your coming up; the Time you " mention (*Friday* Fortnight) he thinks much " too long; He, therefore, commanded me " to ſend an Expreſs to you, in order to " your coming up as ſoon as poſſibly you " can: He having Time little enough to " ſettle that Matter, before His going beyond " the Sea, which will not now be long; be- " cauſe the *Parliament* may ſpeedily end, per- " haps this Day. He conſiders very graci- " ouſly the Commendableneſs of your Sub- " miſſion, in theſe Circumſtances, which is " indeed worthy of you. Pray haſten as much

" as

" as poſſibly you can, and may GOD bring 1698.
" you ſafely hither. I am,

Your affectionate Brother,

THO. CANTUAR.

P. S. *The Parliament riſes To-morrow, and the King goes ſoon to* Windſor; *where you may wait on His Majeſty.*

WHEN our Prelate, upon his Arrival at *Windſor*, had his firſt Audience of the King, he aſſured his Majeſty, it was no longer his Intention to decline ſo honourable an Employment, as the educating a Prince ſo nearly related to the Crown; ſince his Royal Maſter thought him worthy of that Truſt; but as the Diſcharge of his Duty in this Station muſt confine him conſtantly to Court, which was inconſiſtent with his Epiſcopal Function, he deſired Leave to reſign his Biſhoprick. The King was much ſurprized at this Propoſal, to which he would by no Means Conſent; However, finding our Author perſiſted in it, he was, at length prevailed on, to agree, that the Duke ſhould reſide all the Summer at *Windſor*, and that the Biſhop ſhould have ten Weeks allowed him every Year, to viſit the other Parts of his Dioceſe. *Bp.* Burnet *accepts of the Employ.*

THE ſixteenth of *July*, His Majeſty declared in Council, that he intended to go over to *Holland*, for a ſhort Time, and had nominated nine Lords Juſtices for the Adminiſtration of the Government, during his Abſence, of whom the Earl of *Marlborough* was one. This ſudden Change of Scene, in Favour of a Noble- *The Earl of* Marlb. *made one of the Lds. Juſtices of* England.

man,

1698. man, who had been ſo long abſent from Court, and was look'd on as, in a Manner, forgotten, gave Occaſion to many Reflections. As it was a Thing not done without the greateſt Deliberation, no Doubt His Majeſty had his ſolid Reaſons for it; and conſidering the Earl's known Integrity and Capacity, in the Management either of Civil or Military Affairs, it is rather Matter of Wonder, how the King could let him remain ſo long in Obſcurity, and uſeleſs to his Country, which it ever was his utmoſt Endeavour to ſerve. What Prince *Henry* ſaid to his Father, King *James* the Firſt, concerning Sir *Walter Raleigh*, might, in ſome Meaſure, be applied to this Caſe.

Reflections on this Change, in Favour of the Earl of Marlb.

The Earl of Marlb. *a 2d. Time one of the Lords Juſtices;*

THE thirty-firſt of *May*, 1699. His Majeſty, being again going for *Holland*, named Lords Juſtices of *England*, for the Adminiſtration of the Government, during his Abſence, among whom the Earl of *Marlborough* was again one.

And a third Time.

THE Publick Affairs requiring the King's Preſence in *Holland*, in the Year, 1700. on the 27th of *June*, His Majeſty, among others, again, in Council, declared the Earl of *Marlborough*, one of the Lords Juſtices of *England*, for the Adminiſtration of the Government, during His Abſence: And, the ſame Year, he had the Affliction, in common with the Nation (tho' on Account of his being ſo near his Perſon, in a heavier Degree) to loſe his Royal Pupil, the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who died the nine and twentieth of *July*, a Prince of as great Hopes, as any Age had produc'd, having before his Death, under his Lordſhip's Tuition, diſcovered ſo manly a Genius, and ſuch excellent Qualities, as would have verified the favourable

Death of the Duke of Glouceſter.

vourable Opinion the King had conceived of his Lordſhip, for this important Poſt. 1701.

UPON the Death of the King of *Spain*, and the *French* King's receding from the Treaty of Partition of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, *Europe* being threatned with a new War, and the King being ſenſible of his own declining State of Health, His Majeſty was pleaſed, on the firſt of *June*, to declare the Earl of *Marlborough*, *General of the Foot*, *and Commander in Chief of His Majeſty's Forces in* Holland. *The Earl of* Marlborough *declared General of Foot, and Comm. in Chief in* Holland;

THE 28th of the ſame Month, His Majeſty was, likewiſe, pleaſed to appoint his Lordſhip, Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, for the Negotiations at the *Hague*. Evident Marks, that His Majeſty was fully convinced of his Lordſhip's extraordinary Capacity, as well in Civil as Military Affairs. *And appointed Ambaſſador and Plenipotentiary there.*

HIS Lordſhip embark'd with His Majeſty at *Margate*, the firſt of *July*, and came two Days after, to the *Hague*. He took his Reſidence in Prince *Morrice*'s Houſe, near the Court, which the *States*, out of a peculiar Reſpect to his Majeſty, and Eſteem for his Lordſhip, lent him, where he received the Viſits of all the Foreign Miniſters. *He departs with the King for* Holland.

THE nine and twentieth of *Auguſt*, his Lordſhip ſet out, to view the *Engliſh* Forces at *Breda*, and in other Garriſons, which had been ſent, that Summer, from *England*, purſuant to Treaties ſubſiſting between *England* and *Holland*. *Views the* Engliſh *Troops in Garriſon.*

THE firſt of *September*, His Lordſhip returned to the *Hague*, and, the twenty-ſecond of the ſame Month, having ſome important Matters to conſult with the King, he waited on Him at *Loo*, where His Majeſty then reſided. *Returns to the* Hague.

1701. ſided. He left that Place, a few Days after, and went to *Breda*, to prepare every Thing in the Camp, near that Place, for His Ma-

Entertains the King at his Quarters. jeſty's Reception. The thirtieth of *September*, the King reviewed the Forces, and, with his chief Officers, were entertained, at Dinner, by the Earl of *Marlborough*, at his Lordſhip's Quarters.

THE third of *October*, the Earl ſet out from the Camp, and, after he had conferr'd with the *States General*, and the Foreign Miniſters, at the *Returns to* *Hague*, returned to *England*, on the Sitting of England. the *Parliament*.

THE War, with which *England* was threatned, began now to approach daily, and, indeed, *The Death of* to become inevitable. For, upon the Death of *K.* James. King *James* II. the ſixth of *September*, O. S. the *French* King took the impolitick Step (as it was generally thought to be, at that Time) to declare the young pretended Prince of *Wales* *The* French to be King of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; *King proclaims the Pretended* By which He drew upon Himſelf, immediately, *Pr. of* Wales, that Swarm of Enemies, which, ſoon after, *King of* Engl. compos'd the *Grand Alliance*, and which he *&c.* ſhould rather have endeavour'd to keep at Bay, 'till the Duke *d'Anjou* was fix'd more firmly on the Throne of *Spain*.

THIS haſty and unexpected Proceeding of *The* Engliſh *France* was ſo reſented by the King, that He *Ambaſſador in* immediately ſent an Expreſs to the Lord *Man-*Fr. *recall'd.* *cheſter*, his Ambaſſador in *France*, to come directly away, without taking Leave. And his Lordſhip, having received theſe Orders, ſent the following Letter to M. *de Torcy*, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

1701.

My Lord,

" THE King my Maſter, being inform'd, *His Letter*
" That His moſt *Chriſtian* Majeſty has *to M.* de Torcy.
" acknowledg'd another King of *Great Britain*,
" thinks that His Glory and Honour permits
" him no more to have an Ambaſſadour near
" the King, your Maſter; And has ſent me
" Orders to depart immediately; Whereof I
" do my ſelf the Honour to acquaint you, by
" this Letter; And, withal, to aſſure you,
" that I am, *&c.*

THE *French* King, who was then at *Fontainbleau*, tho' he could reaſonably expect no other Proceeding on King *William*'s Side, ſeemed ſurpriz'd at this ſudden Reſolution; He aſſembled his Council, and was two or three Days deliberating, before M. *de Torcy* ſent the Ambaſſadour any Anſwer; But then he received the following.

My Lord,

" I HAVE nothing more to add, to what I *M.* de Torcy's
" had the Honour to tell you, eight Days *Anſwer.*
" ago, of the ſincere Deſire the King has al-
" ways had, to preſerve, with the King, your
" Maſter, the Peace confirmed by the Treaty
" of *Ryſwick*. I pray you only, as to me in
" particular, to be perſuaded, that in what
" Place ſoever you be, you will have none
" that ſhall be with more Sincerity, than I
" ſhall be all my Life Time, *&c.*

BY this evaſive Anſwer, it is plain, the *A Remark* *French* King was ſenſible His Proceeding would *upon it.* not bear a Diſcuſſion: But his mentioning the Peace

1701. Peace of *Ryſwick*, and his Maſter's Inclination to preſerve the Peace confirmed by it, is a Maſter-piece of Aſſurance: For could any thing be more contrary to His moſt *Chriſtian* Majeſty's ſolemn Engagements at that Treaty, than His quickly after promiſing the late King *James*, on his Death-bed, never to abandon the *Pretender*; but always to acknowledge and entertain him as a King of *England*, and declaring, that he hoped to ſee him treated after the ſame Manner, by the whole World?

The French *Secretary ordered to depart* England.

THE Lord *Mancheſter*, having, hereupon, obtained his Paſſports, made Haſte to leave that intriguing Court, and, before the twenty-third of *September*, Notice was given, by His Majeſty's Command, to Monſ. *Pouſſin*, the *French* Secretary here, that he ſhould immediately leave the Kingdom. Much about the ſame Time, that this beggarly *Frenchman* (as a certain Author calls him) departed, there was a ſcandalous Paper printed, as it was ſuppoſed, by his Orders, entitled, *The* French *King's Reaſons for owning the* Pretended Prince of Wales, *for King of* England.

The Indignity offered by France, *reſented by the Nation.*

THE Nation, in the mean Time, was highly enraged at this Indignity offered by *France*, and ſhewed their Reſentment, in the numerous Addreſſes directed, on this Occaſion, to the Throne, from all Parts of the Kingdom, full of Loyalty and Affection.

THAT from the City of *London*, which ſet the firſt Example, may ſerve as a Specimen of the Reſt, and was as follows.

GREAT

1701.

Great Sir,

" WE are deeply ſenſible, how much we are in Duty bound, highly to reſent that great Indignity and Affront, offered to Your moſt Sacred Majeſty, by the *French* King, in giving the Title of King of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to the pretended Prince of *Wales*, contrary to Your Majeſty's moſt Juſt and Lawful Title, and to the ſeveral Acts of Parliament for Settling the Succeſſion to the Crown, in the Proteſtant Line.

Addreſs of the City of London.

" BY this, it is apparent, He deſigns, as much as in Him lies, to dethrone your Majeſty, to extirpate the Proteſtant Religion, out of theſe your Majeſty's Kingdoms, and to invade our *Liberties* and *Properties*; For the maintaining whereof, Your Majeſty hath ſignalized Your Zeal, by the often hazarding Your precious Life.

" We, therefore, Your Majeſty's moſt Loyal Subjects, do ſincerely, unanimouſly, and chearfully, aſſure Your Majeſty, That we will, at all Times, and upon all Occaſions, exert the utmoſt of our Abilities, and contribute whatever lies in our Power, for the Preſervation of Your Perſon (whom God long preſerve) and the Defence of Your juſt Rights, in Oppoſition to all Invaders of your Crown and Dignity.

THIS Addreſs having been tranſmitted to the King to *Holland*, His Majeſty gave ſpecial Directions to the Lords Juſtices, to acquaint His Loyal City of *London*, with the great Satisfaction he had upon receiving it.

1701. THE King, all this while, beſtowed his Application, to perfect the Alliances he was Negociating abroad, and particularly that between the *Emperour*, *England* and *Holland*, which was concluded in *September*. This Treaty was framed in the Nature of Propoſals, upon which *France* might come in, and accordingly the ſame were communicated to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour; But, in Caſe of Refuſal, it was agreed, that Satisfaction ſhould be given to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, in Relation to the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion, to recover *Flanders* out of the Hands of the *French*, and that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſhould keep whatever they could conquer in the *Weſt-Indies*.

Treaty between the Emperour, England *and* Holland.

Opening and Reſolutions of the New Parl. 1702. AT the Opening of the *New-Parliament*, the laſt Day of the Year, His Majeſty made His laſt moſt memorable Speech from the Throne, which was extreamly grateful to *Both Houſes* (as well as the whole Nation) and was anſwered the following Days, by Addreſſes and Reſolutions, which ſhewed how unanimous they were, in their Sentiments for Revenging the Affront offer'd the Nation by *France*. I ſhall mention only one Reſolution of the *Houſe of Commons*, of the tenth of *January*, *viz.* "That "an humble Addreſs be preſented to His Ma- "jeſty, that He will be graciouſly pleaſed to "take Care, that it be an Article in the ſe- "veral Treaties of Alliance, with His Majeſty "and other Potentates, *That no Peace ſhall be* "*made with* France, *until His Majeſty, and* "*the Nation, have Reparation for the great* "*Indignity offered by the* French *King in own-* "*ing and declaring the pretended Prince of* "Wales, *King of* England, Scotland *and* Ire- "land".

IN

IN Purſuance of the ſeveral Loyal Reſolutions of *Both Houſes*, correſpondent to His Majeſty's moſt Gracious Intentions, for the Honour, Intereſt and Security of the Nation, all neceſſary Preparations were making for a neceſſary War; But, before it broke out, it pleaſed GOD to take away His Majeſty, on the eighth of *March*. 1702.

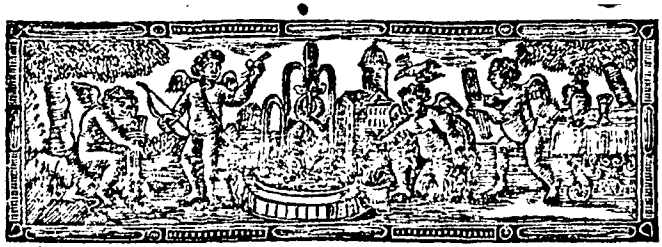
Preparations for a War.

Death of King William.

THIS was the State and Diſpoſition of the Nation, at the Death of King *William*; and I have been the more particular in theſe Circumſtances, becauſe they were the Groundwork of that great War, which broke out, at the Beginning of the enſuing Reign, and in which our *Hero* performed ſuch great and glorious Services, for the Nation, and its *Allies*, and deſervedly attained to that High Pitch of Honour and Rank, as was the Admiration of the whole World.

Concluſion of the III. Book.

END *of the Third* BOOK.



BOOK IV.

TRANSACTIONS *during the first four Years of the Reign of Queen* ANN.

CHAP. I.

TARNSACTIONS *in* 1702, *'till the Siege of* Liege.

Introduction to Queen Ann's *Reign.*

NOW come to the Period of this Great Man's Life, in which he ſhone forth with an aſtoniſhing Luſtre and Glory, and in which will appear ſuch a Succeſſion of Noble Actions, purſued with an unparallel'd Intrepidity, and matchleſs Conduct, wiſe Undertakings, crown'd with deſerved Succeſs, and inconteſtable Victories, in ſuch Numbers, as will ſcarce be found in any Hiſtory, Antient or Modern, recorded of the moſt *Illuſtrious Hero*, within the ſhort Space of ſo few Years. I ſhall, therefore, diſplay them in the cleareſt and trueſt Light, and wiſh nothing more, than that I may be able to find

of War
therlands
Voorn
Briel
Goree
Dort
Schowen
ZEE
Middleburg
Flushing
Blankenberg
Ostend
Bruges
Ghent
Oudenburg
Nieuport
Dunkirk
Dixmud
FLANDERS
Ypres
Poperinge
Courtray
Lill
Tournay
Oudenard
Aelst
Dendermond
Brussels
Louvain
Malines
ANTWERP
Breda
DUTCH BRABANT
UNITED PR
Hulst
Mons
Namur
NAMUR
Charleroy
Douay
Arras
Cambray
Valenciennes
Maubeuge
Landrecy
Denain
Bouchain
Tirlemont
Ramillies
Gemblours
Dinant
Charlemont
Mariemburg
Philippville
Beaumont
Binch
Fleurus
Aire
Lillers
Bethune
Omer
Hall
Nivelle
Aeth
Leuze
Enghien
Gramont
Ninoven
St Nicolas
Rosendale
Bergen op Zoom
Turnhout
Herentals
Moll
Diest
Sichem
Aerschot
Landen
Heusden
Gertruydenberg
Rotterdam
Tirouenne
Pernes
Lens
Vitry
Bapaumes
Amand
Mortaigne
St Amand
Steenkerk
Senef
Tilmont
Pas
21
22
23
24
15
30
Miles

find Expreſſions, in ſome Meaſure, at leaſt, adequate to the Greatneſs of the Subject. 1702.

It will, however, be previouſly neceſſary, in Order to give the Reader a clearer Idea of the Cauſes of this War, which furniſh'd our *Hero*, with ſo many glorious Opportunities of Exerciſing his Courage and Conduct, to recapitulate, in as brief a Manner as poſſible, ſome few Events of the preceding Reign, after the Peace of *Ryſwick*. The great Bone of Contention, which threatned to ſet all *Europe* into a Flame again, was the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Spain*, after the Death of *Charles* II. who was in an ill State of Health, and out of all Hopes of leaving Iſſue. The firſt Step taken to prevent it was by His *Britannick* Majeſty, in Engaging the King of *Spain*, to declare the *Electoral* Prince of *Bavaria*, to be His Heir and Succeſſor, to the Excluſion of the Princes of *France*. This cauſed great Uneaſineſs at the *French* Court, where nothing was thought of but the Means of Revenging this Indignity; 'Till the Count *de Tallard* (then Ambaſſadour at the *Engliſh* Court) contrived the famous Project of a Partition-Treaty, which was, at Length, agreed to. By this Treaty, *Naples* and *Sicily*, the Towns depending upon the Monarchy of *Spain*, on the Coaſts of *Tuſcany*, and the *Marquiſate* of *Final*, on that Side of *Spain*, and the Province of *Guipuſcoa*, with *Fontarabia*, *St. Sebaſtian*, and *Port Paſſage*, on the other Side of *Spain*, were allotted to the *Dauphin*, in Conſideration of his Claim to the Crown of *Spain*. That Crown, and the other Kingdoms and Places, both within and without *Europe*, were to deſcend to the *Electoral* Prince of *Bavaria*; And the Duchy of *Milan*, was

Recapitulation of ſome Affairs which preceded the Death of King William.

1702. allotted to the Archduke *Charles*, the *Emperour*'s ſecond Son.

DEATH having, however, taken away the young Succeſſor to the Monarchy of *Spain*, who departed this Life, the ſixth of *February*, 1699. N. S. a ſecond Treaty of Partition was concluded between *England*, *France* and *Holland*; By which, inſtead of the *Electoral* Prince of *Bavaria*, the Arch-Duke, *Charles* of *Auſtria*, was to have the Dominions allotted that Prince by the former Treaty, the Duchy of *Milan* was to devolve to the Duke of *Lorrain*, in Lieu of his own Country, which was to be given to *France*, and the Prince *de Vaudemont* was to have the Country of *Bilche*. But this, as well as the former Treaty, were deſign'd, by *France*, no otherwiſe than as preſent Amuſements, while He was puſhing on the Intereſt of *Philip*, Duke of *Anjou*, ſecond Son of the *Dauphin* of *France*. And the King of *Spain* dying the firſt of *November*, N. S. following, a Will was trump'd up, by Cardinal *Portecarrero*, by which the deceas'd King is ſaid to have declar'd this Prince Succeſſor to all His Dominions. Accordingly, the ſixteenth of the ſame Month, the Duke of *Anjou*, was declared and ſaluted *King of* SPAIN, at the Court of *France*, notwithſtanding the Treaty of Partition, ſo lately made. Nor did the *French* King ſtop here; For He ſoon after, cauſed His own Troops to take Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and, by Stratagem, and the Connivance of the *Elector* of *Bavaria*, to ſeize ſeveral ſtrong Towns, partly garriſon'd by the *Dutch*, for the Defence and Security of their Country; Whereby the *States* were brought under a Neceſſity of Acknowledging the Duke of *Anjou*'s Title

Title to *Spain*, as King *William*, tho' highly exaſperated at this flagrant Breach of the *French* King's Faith and Honour, was, likewiſe, obliged, for the preſent, to do, not being then, in a Condition to ſhew a Reſentment. 1702.

HOWEVER, to be in a Condition, as ſoon as poſſible, to demand and exact Satisfaction from the faithleſs Monarch of *France*, King *William* immediately ſet about to form that *Grand Alliance*, which afterwards brought *Lewis* the XIVth. to his loweſt Ebb. To this End it was, that the Lord *Marlborough* was ſent to *Holland*, in *June* 1701. with the Character of Ambaſſadour Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary; And the Death of King *James* II. in *September*, with what enſued, thereupon, in *France*, haſtened the Negociations; The Treaty between the *Emperour*, *England* and *Holland* being ſign'd a few Days after, as I have mentioned in the foregoing Chapter.

KING *William* having perfected His Alliances abroad, returned to *England*, the fourth of *November*, and having diſſolved the *Parliament*, ſummon'd a New One, to meet the thirtieth of *December:* But while They were ſhewing their Zeal for the Common Good, by declaring their Reſolutions to ſtand by and defend His Majeſty's Title to the Crown, and to make good all the Alliances He had enter'd into, for reducing the exorbitant Power of *France*, the King was taken away by Death, as I have related at the Concluſion of the foregoing Book.

THIS was the State of Affairs, and thus was the Nation diſpos'd, at the Death of King *William*; And the Acceſſion of Her Majeſty Queen *Ann* to the Throne made no great Alteration

1702. teration in them; Both She and the *Parliament* continuing to purſue thoſe Meaſures, the late King had ſo happily begun, effectually to ſecure the Liberties of *Europe*. The Circumſtances which attended Her Majeſty's Acceſſion and Proclamation, Her firſt Speeches to Her *Council* and *Both Houſes of Parliament*, and the ſeveral Addreſſes which enſued, being rather Subjects, for General Hiſtory, than for this, I paſs them by, to come to Matters which more immediately regard our *Hero*.

Teſtimonies given by the late King, of the Earl of Marlborough's *Capacity.*

It has been reported, that King *William*, but a ſhort Time before his Death, in the moſt earneſt and affectionate Manner, recommended the Earl of *Marlborough* to the Princeſs of *Denmark*, who was to ſucceed Him, *as the propereſt Perſon to command Her Armies, in the War, which was upon the very Point of Breaking out, but of which, he plainly foreſaw, Death would prevent His having any Share in the Glory.* Some ſay, the King recommended him to Her Majeſty, on His Death-bed, as *the fitteſt Perſon, in all Her Dominions, to conduct Her Armies, and preſide in Her Councils; as being a Man of a cool Head, and a warm Heart, proper to encounter the* Genius *of* France, *and ſuppreſs her Deſigns of ſwallowing all* Europe. How far this Recommendation co-operated with Her Majeſty's own Judgment and Choice is not material; but, upon Her Acceſſion to the Throne, She caſt an early Eye of Favour upon him, and made him Partaker of the firſt Honours ſhe beſtowed; for within a few Days after, (*viz.* the fourteenth of *March*) he was elected into the *Moſt Noble Order of the Garter*, into which Order, he was afterwards inſtalled, by his Proxy, Sir *Benjamin Bathurſt*. The Day following,

The Earl of Marlb. *elected* Knight of the Garter, *and declared* Captain-General.

following, he was declared *Captain General of all Her Majeſty's Forces in* England, *or which were imployed abroad, in Conjunction with the Troops of Her Allies.* 1702.

HER Majeſty's earlieſt Care was to cultivate the Harmony and good Intelligence which Her Glorious Predeceſſor had eſtabliſhed with the *States General* of the *United Provinces*; to which End, the third Day after His Deceaſe, She wrote a Letter to Them, to inform them of this melancholly Event, and of Her Sentiments in that Critical Juncture, of which, as it was the Fore-runner of the Earl's Ambaſſy thither, I ſhall give my Readers a Copy:

High and Mighty Lords, Our moſt dear Friends, Allies, and Confederates.

The Queen's Letter to the States General.

" IT is not without a ſenſible Grief, that " We find Our ſelves obliged to acquaint " You with the afflicting News of the Death " of the Moſt High, and moſt Mighty Prince, " *William* III. King of *England*, *Scotland*, " *France*, and *Ireland*, Our moſt dear Brother, " of Glorious Memory. He was ſeized on " *Wedneſday* laſt, with a Fever, which ſo much " encreaſed the following Days, that notwith- " ſtanding all the Remedies that were made " Uſe of, He expir'd on *Sunday*, at eight o' " Clock in the Morning. This is certainly a " very great Loſs to all *Europe*, and in par- " ticular to Your *State*, whoſe Intereſt he al- " ways maintained, with ſo much Valour, " Prudence, Zeal and Conduct. And as it " has pleaſed GOD, that We ſhould ſucceed " him in theſe Kingdoms, We ſhall, alſo, ſuc- " ceed him in the ſame Inclination, to pre-

ſerve

1702. "ſerve a conſtant Union and Amity with
"You, and maintain all the Alliances that
"have been made with Your State, by Our ſaid
"moſt dear Brother, and other Our Predeceſ-
"ſors; and, likewiſe, to concur with You,
"in all the Meaſures that ſhall be neceſſary
"for the Preſervation of the Common Liber-
"ty of *Europe*, and for reducing the Power
"of *France* within due Bounds. This We
"deſire You fully to be aſſured of, and that
"We ſhall always look upon the Intereſts
"of *England*, and thoſe of Your State, as
"inſeparable, and united, by ſuch Ties, as
"cannot be broke, without the greateſt Pre-
"judices to both Nations. We Pray GOD to
"keep You, High and Mighty Lords, Our
"moſt dear Friends and Confederates, in his
"Holy Protection.

"Given at our Court, at St. *James*'s,
"*March* 10, *Anno Dom.* 1702. and the
"Firſt of Our Reign.

Good Effect it had in Holland.

THIS Letter was ſent to Mr. *Stanhope*, with new Credentials, as Her Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary, who immediately delivered both to the *States General*. The News of the King's Death had caſt a terrible Damp on Their *High Mightineſſes*, and occaſioned great and juſt Alarms throughout all their Provinces; They, therefore, made Her Majeſty's Letter publick, to diſſipate the Reports which had been induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, by the Emiſſaries of *France*, that *England* would not proſecute the Meaſures agreed upon, between the late King, and His Confederates, to reduce the exorbitant Power of *France*; And it had the deſir'd Effect,

fect, in removing, in a great Meaſure, thoſe Fears, which ſome had too haſtily imbibed. 1702.

THIS Letter, likewiſe, made ſo lively an Impreſſion on the Minds of the *States* themſelves, and ſo far recovered their drooping Spirits, that, on the five and twentieth of *March*, N. S. the *States* of *Holland* and *Weſt-Frieſland* went in a Body to the Aſſembly of the *States General*, where having condoled their irreparable Loſs, they repreſented; "That in "this dangerous Conjuncture, nothing could "prove more effectual, for their Preſervati-"on, than a perfect Unity, mutual Confi-"dence, and a vigorous Reſolution, for the De-"fence of their Country, and by adhering "firmly to thoſe Meaſures already enter'd in-"to, and ſuch as ſhould be judg'd farther ex-"pedient for the Good of the Common Cauſe, "declaring withall, that they were ready to "perform their Part, and rather to ſacrifice "all their Blood and Treaſure, than to ſee "their State, their Liberty, and their Reli-"gion deſtroyed." *Reſolutions of the* States General.

THIS Repreſentation was highly applauded by the *States General*, who returned Thanks to the States of *Holland* and *Weſt-Frieſland*, for their zealous Reſolutions in that perilous Conjuncture, and aſſured them of their hearty Concurrence therein, for the Safety and Welfare of the *State*, and ſtrenuouſly carrying on the Common Cauſe; and they ordered Letters to be ſent to the other Provinces, to invite them to give the ſame Aſſurances. The City of *Amſterdam*, to ſignalize themſelves more particularly on that Occaſion, ſignified to the *States General*, that they would not only conſent to ſuch Reſolutions as ſhould be thought neceſſary,

1702. neceſſary, at that Time, but would advance Mony to thoſe Provinces, which could not ſo readily furniſh out their *Quota*'s that ſhould be granted. Their High Mightineſſes, ſoon after, publiſh'd their Reſolutions, at large, in Print, to the ſame Effect, and concluded, "That They were reſolved religiouſly to "maintain Their Treaties and Alliances en- "ter'd into with Their *Confederates*, ſtead- "faſtly to purſue the Contents thereof, vigo- "rouſly and cordially to put them in Execu- "tion, to perſevere in the Meaſures already "taken, and agree to ſuch other Meaſures as "ſhould be thought convenient; and that "Notice ſhould be given of this Their true "Meaning and Intention, to all Their Allies "and Confederates."

The Earl of Marlb. *ſent Amb. and Plenipotentiary to* Holland.

THE Queen, in the mean Time, juſtly conſidering of how great Importance it would be to the Common Cauſe, to have all Apprehenſions and Jealouſies entirely removed, reſolved to ſend an Ambaſſy to *Holland*, which would leave no farther Grounds for them. For this weighty Truſt, She, following the Example of her great Predeceſſor, thought none more proper, than the Earl of *Marlborough*, whoſe conſummate Genius had already approved him as great a Miniſter, as a Commander; Qualities rarely to be found in one and the ſame Perſon. Her Majeſty, therefore, ſent the Earl to *Holland*, with the Character of *Ambaſſadour Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States-General.*

Arrives at the Hague.

HIS Excellency arrived at the *Hague*, the eight and twentieth of *March*, N. S. and after having had ſeveral Conferences with the Grand Penſionary, and other Miniſters, on the thirty-firſt,

firſt, he was conducted to his Publick Audience of the *States General*, with great Solemnity, and a numerous Attendance, where he made the following Speech to Their *High Mightineſſes*. 1702. *Has a Publick Audience.*

HIGH *and* MIGHTY LORDS,

His Speech to the States General.

"IT having pleaſed GOD, in his Divine Providence, to take to Himſelf His Ma-"jeſty, King WILLIAM, of Glorious Memo-"ry, to the great Loſs of his Kingdom, the "State of your High and Mighty Lordſhips, "and of all *Europe*; The Queen, my Miſtreſs, "who, as it has pleaſed the ſame Providence, "ſucceeds on the Throne of Her Anceſtors, "as your *High and Mighty Lordſhips* have been "informed by her Majeſty's Letter, has com-"manded me, at the ſame Time, I expreſs to "Your Lordſhips, Her Majeſty's great Afflic-"tion upon this Subject, to make known to "you the Intereſt Her Majeſty takes in that "which this great Misfortune occaſions to "Your Lordſhips, in Particular.

"THE firſt of Her Majeſty's Cares was, to "let Your *High and Mighty Lordſhips* under-"ſtand Her ſincere Deſire and Inclination to "entertain, with You, the ſame Union, "Friendſhip, and ſtrict Correſpondence, as has "ſubſiſted, during the Courſe of the preceding "Reign, as being perſuaded, that nothing in "the World can be more Uſeful and Beneficial, "for the good of both Nations, whoſe Inte-"reſts are the ſame.

"HER Majeſty has, therefore, commanded "me to acquaint Your *High and Mighty Lord-"ſhips*, that She is firmly reſolved to contri-"bute all that lies in Her Power towards the "Advancing and Increaſing the ſaid Union, Friend-

1702. " Friendſhip and Correſpondence, and to make
" that a conſtant Maxim of Her Government.

" HER Majeſty has farther ordered me to
" aſſure Your *High and Mighty Lordſhips*, That
" She will not only exactly and faithfully ob-
" ſerve and execute the Treaties, and Alliances,
" made between the Kings Her Predeceſſors,
" and Your *High and Mighty Lordſhips*, but
" that She is likewiſe ready to Renew and Con-
" firm them: As alſo to concur with You in
" all the Meaſures, which have been taken by
" the late King, of Glorious Memory, in Pur-
" ſuance of the ſaid Alliances.

" HER Majeſty is likewiſe diſpoſed to enter
" into ſuch other ſtricter Alliances and Engage-
" ments, which ſhall conduce to the Intereſts
" of both Nations, the Preſervation of the
" Liberty of *Europe*, and Reducing, within juſt
" Bounds, the Exorbitant Power of *France*.

" IN the mean Time, Her Majeſty is ready,
" from this Moment, and without any Delay,
" to concur with Your *High and Mighty Lord-
" ſhips* and the other *Allies*, to this End, with
" all Her Forces, as well by Sea as by Land.

" AND Her Majeſty, to ſhew her Zeal the
" more, has been pleaſed to Authorize me, to
" concert, with *Your High and Mighty Lord-
" ſhips* the Neceſſary Operations.

" THESE Motives obliged Her Majeſty to
" order me to depart, with all Diligence, in
" Order to come hither, and give Your *High
" and Mighty Lordſhips* all poſſible Aſſurances
" thereof, without ſtopping at the ordinary
" Formalities.

" AND I look upon it as an extraordinary
" Happineſs, that her Majeſty has done me the
" Honour, to employ me in this Commiſſion,

" ſince

" ſince it gives me the Opportunity of ex- 1702.
" preſſing to Your *High and Mighty Lordſhips*
" the Zeal I have for your Service.

To this Speech, Monſieur *Dyckvelt*, Preſi- *The Preſident*
dent of the Aſſembly, made an Anſwer, in the *of the State's*
Name of the States; " Expreſſing Their great *Anſwer.*
" Affliction for the Death of the late King;
" Their Congratulation of Her Majeſty's Suc-
" ceſſion to the Throne; Their hearty Thanks
" for the Aſſurance of her Friendſhip; and
" their own Reſolution, readily to concur
" with Her Majeſty in a vigorous Proſecution
" of the Common Intereſt:" To which he ad-
ded; " That his Perſon would be highly ac-
" ceptable to them, not only for the Queen's
" Choice of him, and for the Sake of King
" *William*, who firſt inveſted him with that
" Character, *but for his own Merit.*

THE *French* King, being not a little ſur- *Intrigues of*
priz'd at theſe Proceedings of the Queen of *France.*
Great Britain, and finding that the Death of King *William* would not have the Effect he had vainly imagin'd, put all the Means in Agitation He could poſſibly contrive, to break the growing Union between *England* and *Holland* (which was the only humane Means left to put a Stop to thoſe great and pernicious Deſigns He had formed.) Among others, the very Day the Earl of *Marlborough* had his Publick Audience, the Sieur *De Barre*, who was left at the *Hague*, by Count *d'Avaux*, as Secretary of the Ambaſſy, to take Care of the Affairs of *France*, and had now the Title of Reſident; preſented a long Memorial to the *States*, to endeavour to draw Them off from their Engagements with *England*. This Memorial, how- *Prove of no*
ever, *Effect.*

1702. ever, had a contrary Effect to what *France* hop'd from it. The *States* look'd, with Indignation, on the contumelious Inſinuations with which this Memorial was ſtuff'd, as if they had acted only by the conſtraining Influence of the late King, and received, with the like Diſdain the inſulting Menaces contained in it; They, therefore, returned an Anſwer, ſo pertinent and becoming them, as daſh'd all Hopes of *France*, on that Side. In this Memorial, they ſet forth, how exact they had been in obſerving their Treaties and Alliances, and juſtly retorted on *France*, that if ſhe had been really inclin'd to eſtabliſh the Peace of *Europe*, and re-enter into their ancient Amity with the Republick, She would not have recall'd the Count *d'Avaux*, without, at leaſt, making ſome Propoſals towards a Peace. *French* Writers, and particularly Monſ. *de Quincy*, attribute this Stedfaſtneſs of the *States General*, to the Declaration made to them by the Earl of *Marlborough*, in the Name of the Queen, and ſay, that was the Cauſe of Their rejecting every Propoſal made by Their *Grand Monarch*.

The Earl of Marlb. *returns to* England.

THE Earl of *Marlborough* ſtaid but few Days in *Holland*, tho' to very good Purpoſe; And having ſettled ſeveral important Affairs, with the Deputies of the *States*, eſpecially for the Opening of the Campaign, and the intended Siege of *Keyſerſwaert*, which, by his Lordſhip's Advice, was to be the firſt Scene of Action, he left the *Hague*, in order to embark for *England*, where he arived in Safety, the fifth of *April*.

The great Eſteem the States *expreſs'd for him.*

DURING his Excellency's Stay at the *Hague*, Their *High Mightineſſes*, and every one, expreſſed a more than ordinary Satisfaction in his Conduct, and, notwithſtanding the ill-

1702.

grounded Jealouſies ſome had conceived againſt him, but a few Years before, ſeemed to place an entire Confidence in him, as if They foreſaw the great Services he would do them, in the Courſe of the War. In ſhort, he managed all Affairs with ſuch Dexterity and Prudence, that all he propoſed was readily enter'd into, the Confederacy was confirmed, the *Quotas* of the ſeveral Allies adjuſted, and an Armament agreed to, by Sea and Land, before it was known, in ſome Parts of this Kingdom, that he was entered upon thoſe Negotiations. An almoſt infallible Preſage of the great Succeſs which was to follow them: For Meaſures ſo prudently concerted could not fail of an adequate Support, from the Perſon who was the principal Contriver of them; And an Alliance ſo well cemented, and ſo ſtrictly united, by the indiſſoluble Bonds of Friendſhip and Intereſt, could not but furniſh unqueſtionable Hopes of attaining to the Ends propoſed.

His Dexterity in the Management of Affairs.

AMONG other Matters of great Importance, which were brought upon the Carpet, during the Earl's Stay at the *Hague*, was that of chooſing a Commander in Chief, who might properly be placed at the Head of an Army, compos'd of ſo many ſeveral Nations. This was determin'd, by the Earl's prudent Management, in his own Favour, and this, as important as honourable, Poſt, with a Salary of 10,000 *l. per Ann.* was conferr'd upon him, partly on Account of the High Conſideration due to His Royal Miſtreſs, and partly in Regard to the great Experience, which all the World allowed him to have in the Art of War; Of which the Recommendation of the late King could not but enhance the Idea, among the Foreign Powers, who

The Dutch *make him Commander in Chief of their Army.*

1702. were Parties in the *Grand Alliance*. Having gain'd this Point, and being ſenſible, that nothing could be of ſo bad Conſequence to the Common Cauſe, as a Miſunderſtanding among the General Officers, he took Care, before his Departure from *Holland*, to ſettle the Point of Pre-eminence, or Rank, in ſuch Manner, as conduced to his Sovereign's, as well as his own Honour.

The Point of Pre-eminence ſettled.

The Earl aſſiſts at King William's Funeral.

THE twelfth of the ſame Month, the Funeral Obſequies of the late King were performed, in a very private Manner; The Royal Corpſe being carried, late at Night, from *Kenſington*, to the Collegiate Church of *Weſtminſter*, and depoſited in the Royal Vault in King *Henry* VII. Chappel. His Royal Highneſs, Prince *George* of *Denmark*, followed, as chief Mourner, ſupported by two Dukes, and attended by ſixteen of the firſt Earls of *England*, among whom the Earl of *Marlborough* was one, as Aſſiſtants.

The Earl of Marlb. *with other Peers, inſpect the late King's Papers.*

A REPORT, having been induſtriouſly ſpread, *That a Deſign had been formed* (with the Knowledge and Approbation of the late King) *to exclude the Queen from ſucceeding to the Crown*; Some added, to impriſon the Queen, and to bring the Houſe of *Hannover* immediately into the Succeſſion, among other Peers, the Earl was one, who was authorized by Her Majeſty, to inſpect King *William*'s Papers; It having been ſaid, that ſome Writings were in His ſtrong Box, which diſcovered the Scheme: But to the Honour of their late Sovereign, they ſeverally declared, to the *Houſe of Peers*, *That, among the late King's Papers, they did not find any Papers, in the leaſt tending to the Prejudice of Her Majeſty, or Her Succeſſion to the Crown, or to Her Prejudice in any Reſpect, whatſoever, or*

Their Report.

which

which might give any Ground or Colour, for ſuch Report. Upon which, a Vote paſſed in the *Houſe of Lords*, that theſe Reports were groundleſs, falſe, villanous and ſcandalous, to the late King's Memory, and highly tending to the Diſſervice of Her preſent Majeſty: And it was order'd, that the Matter of Fact, and the Reſolution of the Houſe thereupon, be laid before Her Majeſty, with Their humble Deſire, that She would be pleaſed to order Mr. *Attorney-General* to proſecute, with the utmoſt Severity of Law, the Authors or Publiſhers of ſuch ſcandalous Reports. To which Her Majeſty anſwered, that *She was very ready to do any Thing of this Kind, and would give Directions accordingly.* 1702. *Reſolution of the Lords thereupon.*

THE twenty-third of *April*, being *St. George's* Day, Her Majeſty's Coronation was performed, with the uſual Solemnity, at *Weſtminſter-Abby*, at which the Earl, and his Counteſs aſſiſted, in their proper Rank. *The Earl of* Marlb. *aſſiſts at the Queen's Coronation.*

THIS Ceremony being over, the Queen ſet about to form Her Miniſtry. The Coldneſs, of which I made Mention above, between the late King and Her Majeſty, continued to the Death of that Monarch; For tho' a ſeeming Reconciliation was made, after Queen *Mary's* Death, yet it went little farther than what Civility and Decency required. She was not made acquainted with Publick Affairs, nor was She encouraged to recommend any to Places of Truſt and Advantage: The Miniſtry had even no Orders to inform Her how Matters went, nor to oblige thoſe about Her. The Earl of *Marlborough* was the only Perſon, about Her Majeſty, whom Care had been taken to pleaſe, with which in the latter Part of the King's *The Queen forms Her Miniſtry.*

1702. Reign, he was fully ſatisfied. Her Majeſty's Court, as Princeſs, was then very thin; She lived in a due Abſtraction from Buſineſs; So that She neither gave Jealouſy, nor encouraged Faction: Yet theſe Things (ſays a late Author) had made thoſe Impreſſions on Her, that had, at firſt, ill Effects, which were ſoon obſerved and remedied. I ſhall not enter into a particular Detail of what Alterations the Queen made, nor of the Motives which may probably have induced Her to ſome Things; But ſhall confine myſelf to what more immediately concerned the Earl of *Marlborough*. Among other Changes, the Lord *Godolphin* was made Lord-Treaſurer, at which he ſhewed an Uneaſineſs, and long reſiſted the Acceptance of it; But the Earl preſs'd it in ſo poſitive a Manner, that he inſiſted upon it, he could not go beyond Sea, to command the Army, unleſs the Treaſury was in his Hands; By which he might be ſure that Remittances would be punctually made him.

The Lord Godolphin *made Lord Treaſurer.*

The Prince of Denmark *ſaid to deſign Commanding the Army.*

I HAVE already ſaid, that the Earl was declared Captain-General; But the Prince had the Title of *Generaliſſimo* of all the Queen's Forces, by Sea and Land, and ſoon after was made Lord *High Admiral*; And the Duke of *Ormond* was appointed to command in Chief a Land-Army, which was to be put on Board the Fleet. It was, for ſome Time, reported, that the Prince would command the Armies of the *Allies*, in Perſon; But this ſoon fell away, and it was ſaid, on the contrary, that the *Dutch* were not willing to truſt Their Forces to the Command of a Prince, who might be above being limited by Their Inſtructions, or bound to obey Their Commands.

The Dutch *againſt it.*

THE

THE Queen made the Earl of *Nottingham*, and Sir *Charles Hedges*, Secretaries of State; but She continued moſt of the great Officers of the Houſhold, all the Judges, except two, and moſt of the Lords Lieutenants of Counties; did She make any Change in the Foreign Miniſtry. It was generally thought, that the Earl of *Rocheſter* (who was continued Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*) and his Party, were for ſevere Methods, and for a more entire Change, to be carried quite thro' all Subaltern Employments; But that the Earl of *Marlborough*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, were for more moderate Proceedings. But to return to other Affairs. 1702. *Moderation of the Earl of* Marlborough.

THE ſecond of *May*, it was moved in Council, to declare War againſt *France* and *Spain*. Some Members of that illuſtrious Body repreſented the Inconveniencies which would attend it, and moved, that it would be ſafer for the *Engliſh* to act in this Conjuncture, as Auxiliaries only; but the Dukes of *Sommerſet* and *Devonſhire*, and the Earls of *Marlborough* and *Pembroke*, maintained the contrary ſtrenuouſly, and ſhewed, not only, that it was beſeeming the Honour of the Nation, to make good the late King's Alliances; but that *France* would never be reduced, within due Bounds, unleſs the *Engliſh* acted as Principals in this War; and they, at Length, brought the Majority of the Board to their Opinion; upon which, Her Majeſty gave Orders for drawing up a Declaration of War againſt *France* and *Spain*. Her Majeſty was, however, graciouſly pleaſed to communicate Her Intention to *Both Houſes of Parliament*, together with a Convention between Her Majeſty, the *Emperour*, and the *States*

Debates, in Council, about Declaring War.

The Earl of Marlborough's *Opinion prevails;*

1702. *And is approved by* Parliament.

States General, to that End: Which They approved of, and the Queen, being aſſur'd of the Concurrence and Support of the *Commons*, cauſed the Declaration, which She had before given Directions to be drawn up, to be ſolemnly proclaimed, before the Gate of the Royal Palace of St. *James*, at Temple-Bar, and at the *Royal Exchange*: of which Declaration, as it ſhews the Motives which induced Her Majeſty to enter into this War, it will be neceſſary to give my Readers a Copy:

ANNA R.

Her Majeſty's Declaration of War, againſt France *and* Spain.

"WHEREAS it has pleaſed ALMIGHTY GOD, to call Us to the Government of theſe Realms, at a Time, when Our late dear Brother *William* III. of Glorious Memory, had, in purſuance of the repeated Advices of the *Parliament* of this Kingdom, entered into ſolemn Treaties of Alliance with the *Emperour* of *Germany*, the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, and other Princes and Potentates, for preſerving the Liberty and Balance of *Europe*, and for reducing the Exorbitant Power of *France*; which Treaties were grounded upon the unjuſt Uſurpations and Encroachments of the *French* King, who had taken, and ſtill keeps Poſſeſſion of a great Part of the *Spaniſh* Dominions, Exerciſing an abſolute Authority over all that Monarchy, having ſeized *Milan*, and the *Spaniſh Low Countries*, by his Armies, and made himſelf Maſter of *Cadiz*, of the Entrance into the *Mediterranean*, and of the Ports in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, by His Fleets, every where deſigning to invade

"the

" the Liberties of *Europe*, and to obſtruct the 1702.
" Freedom of Navigation and Commerce.
" And it being provided, by the third and
" fourth Articles of the forementioned Alli-
" ance, That, if in the Space of two Months,
" which are ſometime ſince expired, the In-
" juries complained of were not remedied,
" the Parties concerned ſhould mutually aſſiſt
" each other with their whole Strength:
" And whereas, inſtead of giving the Satisfa-
" ction, that ought juſtly to be expected, the
" *French* King has not only proceeded to far-
" ther Violences, but has added thereunto a
" great Affront and Indignity to Us, and our
" Kingdoms, in taking upon Him to declare
" the pretended Prince of *Wales*, King of
" *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and has alſo
" influenced *Spain* to concur in the ſame Af-
" front and Indignity, as well as in His other
" Oppreſſions; We find Ourſelves obliged,
" for Maintaining the Publick Faith, for Vin-
" dicating the Honour of Our Crown, and
" for Preventing the Miſchiefs, which all *Eu-*
" *rope* is threatned with, to *Declare*, and We
" do, hereby, *Declare* War againſt *France* and
" *Spain*. And placing Our entire Confidence
" in the Help of ALMIGHTY GOD, in ſo
" juſt and neceſſary an Undertaking, We will,
" in Conjunction with Our Allies, vigorouſly
" proſecute the ſame, by Sea and Land, being
" aſſured of the ready Concurrence and Aſ-
" ſiſtance of Our Subjects, in a Cauſe they
" have ſo openly, and ſo heartily, eſpouſed.
" And We do, hereby, will and require Our
" Lord High Admiral of *England*, Our Ge-
" neral of Our Forces, Our Lieutenants of
" Our ſeveral Counties, Governours of Our

1702. " Forts and Garriſons, and all other Officers
" and Soldiers under them, by Sea and Land,
" to Do and Execute all Acts of Hoſtility, in
" the Proſecution of this War, againſt *France*
" and *Spain*, their Vaſſals and Subjects, and
" oppoſe their Attempts, Willing and Requir-
" all Our Subjects, to take Notice of the ſame,
" whom We henceforth ſtrictly forbid to hold
" any Correſpondence or Communication with
" *France* or *Spain*, or Their Subjects. But be-
" cauſe there are remaining in Our Kingdoms
" many of the Subjects of *France* and *Spain*,
" We do declare Our Royal Intention to be,
" That all the Subjects of *France* or *Spain*,
" who ſhall demean themſelves dutifully to-
" wards Us, ſhall be ſafe in their Perſons and
" Eſtates.

GIVEN at Our Court at St. *James*'s, the fourth Day of *May*, 1702. In the Firſt Year of our Reign.

The *Emperour* and the *States General* publiſh'd their Declarations of War the ſame Day: But the *French* King did not publiſh his till the third of *July*.

WAR being declared, both Houſes joined in an Addreſs to the Queen, in which they re-preſented; " That nothing would more con-
" tribute to the effectual carrying it on, and
" reducing Her Enemies to the greateſt Streights,
" than an entire Prohibition of all Correſpon-
" dence with *France* and *Spain*, on the Part
" of the *Allies*; and therefore, they humbly
" adviſed Her Majeſty, to engage the *Empe-*
" *rour*, the *States General*, and Her other *Al-*
" *lies*, to join with Her, in prohibiting all
" Intercourſe,

An Addreſs of both Houſes of Parliament.

"Intercourſe, between the Subjects of Her Majeſty, and Her Allies, and the Subjects of *France* and *Spain*: And alſo to concert ſuch Methods with the *States General*, as may moſt effectually ſecure the Trade of Her Subjects and Her *Allies*." To all which, Her Majeſty readily promiſed to comply: Adding, that *She was too much concerned for the Publick Welfare, to omit any neceſſary Precautions, for the Protection of our Trade.* But notwithſtanding this Matter was, afterwards, ſtrenuouſly urg'd by the Lord *Marlborough*, the *Dutch* were too ſelf-intereſted to engage in a total Prohibition of Commerce and Correſpondence with *France* and *Spain*. 1702.

Her Majeſty's Anſwer.

As the Earl of *Marlborough* was detained ſome Time in *England*, in concerting the neceſſary Meaſures with the Miniſtry, before he could croſs the Sea, to take upon him the Command of the *Confederate* Army, I ſhall be obliged to give a brief Account, of what was doing in the mean Time, that the Reader may thereby form a more accurate Idea of the State of the Campaign, when His Lordſhip arrived at the Army.

THE *French* King being ſenſible what a formidable Alliance was making againſt Him, left no Stone unturned to draw over ſome of the *German* Princes to His Intereſt; and, in this Attempt, he ſucceeded, not only with the *Electors* of *Bavaria* and *Cologn*, but with the two Dukes of *Wolfembuttle*, *Rudolph* and *Anthony*, who held the Regency together, to raiſe Forces in the *Empire*, in his Favour. The Duke of *Zell* was, hereupon, directed, by the *Emperour*, to make an Incurſion into their Country,

Defection of ſome of the German *Princes.*

1702. Country, and to oblige them, by Force of Arms, to abandon the Intereſt of *France*.

THIS had its deſired Effect; for after the Duke of *Zell* had made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral ſtrong Holds, in the ſaid Principality, and block'd up the Capital of *Wolfembuttle* itſelf, *Rudolph* reſolved, notwithſtanding the Obſtinacy of his Brother, to come to an Accommodation; and, whether terrified by the impending Danger, or deſirous of having the Regency ſolely in his own Hands, ſet a Treaty on Foot. This Treaty ended in an Agreement, between the Elector of *Hannover*, and the Duke of *Zell*, on one Side, and *Rudolph* of *Wolfembuttle*, on the other, that *Anthony* ſhould be excluded the Regency, which *Rudolph*, upon quitting all his Engagements with *France*, ſhould take into his own Hands; and that the *Elector* and Duke ſhould take into their Service 1,000 Horſe, and 2,400 Foot, of the *Wolfembuttle* Troops, which were raiſed with *French* Mony, and ſhould thereupon withdraw their Forces out of that Principality.

State of Affairs before the Earl of Marlb. *headed the Confederate Army.*

ALL *Germany* was now united, in Favour of the *Emperour*, excepting the *Electors* of *Bavaria* and *Cologn*, the latter of whom had put *Liege*, and all the Places he had on the *Rhine*, excepting *Benn* (which afterwards followed) into the Hands of the *French*. Among theſe, was the ſtrong Town of *Keyſerſwaert*, which, while in the Hands of the Enemy, expoſed not only the Circle of *Weſtphalia*, but the Dominions of the *States General*; for their Places on the *Wahl*, not being in the beſt Condition of Defence, were laid open to the Excurſions of that Garriſon.

IT

IT may not be improper to remark here, under what Diſadvantages the *Confederates* begun this War; As it enhances the Glory of those *Heroes*, who, notwithſtanding ſo many Difficulties, carried it on with ſo much Success and Advantage. In the former War, not only *Spain*, but the United Force of the whole *Empire*, and, for a conſiderable Time, the Duke of *Savoy* acted in Concert with *England* and *Holland*, againſt the common Enemy. On the contrary, now a Prince of the Houſe of *Bourbon* ſat on the *Spaniſh* Throne, a *French* Army had over-run the State of *Milan*, and, to this Army, the Duke of *Savoy* (who was allied to *France*, by the double Marriage of his two Daughters) had join'd his Forces. Of the nine principal Members of the *Empire*, Two, the *Electors* of *Bavaria* and *Cologn*, had declar'd for *France*, and the latter, as I have ſaid above, had admitted *French* Forces into all his fortified Towns, under the ſpecious Name of Troops of the Circle of *Burgundy*. A Third, the *Elector* of *Saxony*, King of *Poland*, was at War with *Sweden*, and the diſaffected *Poles*, for his tottering Crown, and could not, therefore, ſend his full Proportion of Troops againſt *France*. The *Emperour* had ſent his Veteran Forces, under the Command of Prince *Eugene*, to keep the *French* at a Bay in *Italy*; And all the *Spaniſh* Towns, on the Frontiers of *Holland*, were garriſon'd with *French* Troops. But, notwithſtanding all theſe viſible Diſadvantages, by the wiſe and ſteady Councils of *England*, the prudent Management of Her Majeſty's Treaſury, *the juſt Meaſures concerted by the Earl of* Marlborough, *with Foreign Powers*, the Valour and Reſolution of the *Confederate* Troops,

1702.

Diſadvantages under which the Confederates *begun this War.*

1702. Troops, and the Experience and good Conduct of their Commander, it was ſoon concluded, by all who were Judges of theſe Matters, that the *Allies* would, in the End, be an Over-Match for *France*.

Diviſion and Diſpoſition of the Confederate *Army;*

In the End of *April*, the *Dutch* formed [illegible] Armies; One commanded by the Prince of *Naſſau Saarbruck*, which undertook the Siege of *Keyſerſwaert*, in the Name of the *Elector Palatine*, for the *Emperour*; Under whom the *Dutch* ſerved as Auxiliares, they having not yet declared War againſt *France* and *Spain*. Another Army was formed under the Earl of *Athlone*, which lay in the Dutchy of *Cleves*, to cover that Siege; And a third, conſiſting of 10,000 Men, under the Command of General *Cohorn*, which broke into *Flanders*, forced and demoliſhed the Lines, between the two Forts of *St. Donat* and *Iſabella*, which the Enemy had been many Months raiſing, with great Labour and Expence, and laid the greateſt Part of the *Chatelenie* of *Bruges*, under Contribution. However, after theſe Succeſſes, upon the Approach of the Marquis *de Bedmar*, and the Count *de la Motte*, with the *French* Troops under their Command (who were ſuperiour in Number to him) he was forced to retire under the Walls of *Sluys*; But to prevent the Enemy's taking Fort *Donat*, he firſt laid the Country under Water, and forc'd the *Spaniards* to retire towards *Ghent*.

Succeſs of Gen. Cohorn.

He forms a Deſign on the Caſtle of Namur:

The Marquis *de Quincy* gives a particular Relation of a Deſign General *Cohorn* had formed of ſurprizing the Caſtle of *Namur*, by means of a Gentleman in the Neighbourhood, whom he had brought over to his Purpoſe, and who having a Relation, an Officer, in the Place, by Means

Means of him, and two of the Burghers, who 1702.
ngaged in the Deſign, an Agreement was
made with a *Spaniſh* Captain of the Garriſon,
who, in Conſideration of 10,000 Piſtoles, a
conſiderable Part of which he actually received,
nd the Command of a Regiment promis'd
him, undertook to deliver the Caſtle into the
Hands of the *Dutch* Troops; But after having
got as much Money as he could, he betray'd *But is betray'd.*
the Deſign to the Governour, which put an
End to the Attempt.

MARSHAL DE BOUFLERS drew his Troops *Motions of the* French *Army.*
together, and, having laid up great Magazines,
in *Ruremond* and *Venlo*, paſs'd the *Maeſe*, with
his whole Army. The Duke of *Burgundy* (the
preſent King of *France*'s Father, was come
Poſt from *Paris* to command it, and to learn
the Art of War, under the Direction of the
Marſhal *de Bouflers*. The *States* were appre-
henſive, that ſo great a Prince would, at his
firſt Appearance in the Field, have undertak-
en ſomething worthy of himſelf, and believing
the Deſign might be upon *Maeſtricht*, threw
12,000 Men into that Place.

THE ſending away ſo large a Detachment;
The Auxiliary Troops from *Germany* not co-
ming ſo ſoon as were expected, and contrary
Winds having ſtopp'd a good Part of our
Army, were the Occaſions, that the Earl of
Athlone was not ſtrong enough to enter into
Action with the Marſhal *de Bouflers*. So he
encamp'd at *Clarenbeck*, between *Nimeguen* and
Cleve, to watch his Motions; While he lay
encamp'd at *Santen*, near *Cleves*, they were
very watchful of each other, and the Earl of
Athlone, having detach'd Major-General *Dom-
pre*, with 1000 Horſe, towards the Enemy, he
happen'd

1701. happen'd to meet a Party of about 600 *French* Horſe, whom he attack'd and totally defeated, killing 200 on the Spot, and taking near as many Priſoners; With the Loſs of not above 30 Troopers and Dragoons kill'd.

A French *Party defeated.*

Siege of Keyſerſwaert.

THE Siege of *Keyſerſwaert* went on but ſlowly; The Trenches were open'd the eighteenth of *April*, with little Loſs, and, the twentieth, the Beſiegers did great Execution by the vaſt Number of Bombs, which they threw into the Town; But the Enemy made a vigorous Sally, and tho' they were twice repuls'd, with great Bravery, by the *Dutch*, not being ſuccour'd in Time, and being inferiour to the Enemy, in Number, they were forced to quit their Poſt, and make a retreating Fight; 'Till, at Length, the Cavalry coming up, the Enemy were, in their Turn, conſtrain'd to retire with great Precipitation. The twenty-firſt and twenty-ſecond, the Enemy made two Sallies more; But with much the ſame Succeſs: And, in the latter, were purſued to the Counterſcarp. As the Earl of *Marlborough* had no Part in this Siege, I ſhall not continue to give the farther Circumſtances of it; But only, in general, obſerve, that tho' the Beſiegers propoſed, at firſt, to be Maſters of the Place, in three Weeks, they were miſtaken in their Calculation, the Garriſon having made a vigorous Defence, for about two Months: And it had like to have proved but a bad Beginning of a new War, and the firſt Campaign; Yet all the Wit and Foreſight of Man could not have prevented it; For who can contend with the Elements? It was owing, in great Part, to the Badneſs of the Weather, but more to the Obſtructions cauſed the Beſiegers by Count *Tallard*, who, with a flying Camp,

Camp, having hovered, for ſome Days, about *Duſſeldorp*, poſted himſelf on the other Side of the *Rhine*, over-againſt the Camp before *Keyſerſwaert*, from whence he, in particular, very much annoyed the *Pruſſian* Quarters. *Keyſerſwaert* is a little Town, ſituate on the *North* Banks of the *Rhine*, about two Leagues below *Duſſeldorp*, belonging to the Elector of *Cologn*. It is an Oblong, of one Street only, defended on the Land-ſide, by three Baſtions and four Ravelins, and, towards the *Rhine*, by two Baſtions. The Extremity or Point of an Iſland, below the Place, may either be of Advantage or Prejudice to it, according to the Uſe, that is made of it. The *French* poſſeſs'd themſelves of this Place for Cardinal *Furſtemburg*, in 1688. but the *Elector* of *Brandenburg* retook it, in 1689. and deliver'd it to the *Elector* of *Cologn*, who received a *French* Garriſon into it, in 1701. The Iſland I mentioned above was firſt poſſeſs'd by the *French* and fortified; But taken afterwards by the *Pruſſians*. As the *Rhine* is very broad and deep in that Place, Count *Tallard* found it eaſy, in the Night Time, by Means of Boats, to throw as many freſh Men, and as great a Quantity of Proviſions and Ammunition into the Town, as he thought fit, which the Beſiegers were not able to prevent. On the other Hand, the King of *Pruſſia*, who was in *Weſel*, furniſhed the Beſiegers, with all they wanted, from thence. 1702.

Keyſerſwaert *deſcrib'd.*

THE *Confederates* had reduced *Keyſerſwaert* to a Heap of Rubbiſh, and battered the Out-works with 48 large Cannon, and 30 Mortars, when, on the ninth of *June*, N. S. they reſolved to make a general Attack on the Counterſcarp and Ravelin. This they executed, with unpa-

The Counterſcarp taken by Storm;

1702. unparallel'd Bravery: The Conflict was very bloody and obſtinate, for two Hours together. During which Time, nothing was to be ſeen but Fire and Smoak, and many brave Officers loſt their Lives, on both Sides. At Length, however, the Beſieged were obliged to give Ground, and leave the Aſſailants Maſters of both, and they lodged themſelves accordingly. Among the Officers, who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves on this Occaſion, none behaved with more remarkable Conduct and Bravery, than the Prince of *Naſſau-Saarbrug*, who commanded, and who perform'd Prodigies, giving his Orders, with great Contempt of Danger, and wonderful Preſence of Mind: And the Earl of *Huntington*, who gave no leſs Proofs of his Valour, tho' but as Volunteer, and was dangerouſly wounded: Nor did they alone diſtinguiſh themſelves; For all the other Officers, and even the common Soldiers, behaved, in this Action, beyond Expectation. This Advantage coſt the *Confederates*, however, very dear, For they had above 2500 Men killed or wounded in the Action; But it, likewiſe, ſo much weaken'd the Garriſon, that they were forced to capitulate, the fifteenth. They obtain'd honourable Terms, and march'd out, the ſeventeenth, after a Siege of two Months; And the Place was razed according to Agreement.

And the Town by Capitulation.

If we will believe F. *Daniel*, the Marquis *de Quincy*, and other *French* Writers, this Place coſt the *Allies* more Men, than they might probably have loſt in a pitch'd Battle, the Number of the Slain amounting, according to them, to 7 or 8000 Men. It is certain the Beſiegers loſt a great many Men, conſidering the Smallneſs of the Place; But I never found that the Num-

ber

ber amounted to half what the *French* Hiſtorians would make us believe. 1702.

UPON the Taking of the Counterſcarp, Count *Tallard*, finding he could be of no farther Service to the Beſieged, join'd the Grand Army, under the Command of the Duke of *Burgundy*, which, by the calling in of all their other Detachments, became greatly ſuperiour to that of the *Confederates*, under the Earl of *Athlone*; And they were ſo ſenſible of it, that they reſolved to put in Execution, without Delay, the *Grand Coup d'Eclat* (or bold, ſurprizing Stroke) which they had, for ſome Time before, boaſted of; And of which I ſhall now give my Readers an Account.

A bold Attempt of the Marſhal de Boufler's;

THE Duke of *Burgundy*'s Army having been re-inforced, as I have obſerved above, by ſeveral Detachments, and particularly by the *Troops of the* French *King's Houſhold*, the Marſhal *de Bouflers* decamp'd from *Santen*, the tenth of *June*, N. S. about eight o'Clock in the Morning, without Sound of Trumpet, or Beat of Drum, and directed his March thro' the Plains of *Gock*, ſeeming to encline towards the *Mocker Heyde*, cloſe by *Nimeguen*, as if his Deſign was to get between the *Confederate* Army, under the Command of the Earl of *Athlone*, and *Nimeguen*, and by that Means to cut them off from their Proviſions, Ammunition and Forrage, which would have very much expoſed that City, as well as ſeveral other neighbouring Towns.

the Confederate *Army thereupon.*

THE Earl of *Athlone*, having timely Notice of the Enemy's March, and rightly judging what their Deſign was, called a Council of the General Officers, in which it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the *Confederates* ſhould begin their March, about eight the ſame Evening, in

1702. the following Order. The Baggage was ſent away to *Nimeguen*, leaving *Cranenburg*, on the Right; And four Battalions were detached to *Grave*; The firſt Line marched in one Column, between the Woods, at the Head of the *Confederate* Camp, at *Cranenburg*; In which Woods, the *French* had, by that Time, poſted a numerous Body of Foot and Dragoons; While the ſecond Line march'd between the firſt Line and *Cranenburg*, leaving the Town on the right Hand. The Prince of *Wirtemberg* was detach'd, with a great Body of Horſe, upon the Left of the *Confederate's* March; And Colonel *Frederick Hamilton*, with three Battalions of *Engliſh*, under the Lord *Cuts*, was, likewiſe, detach'd to ſecure the Prince's Retreat, and to take Care of the High Way of *Norgina*, by which the Enemy might, otherwiſe, have eaſily fallen on the *Confederates*, in their March, which two Detachments both rejoined the Earl upon his Entrance into the *Mocker-Heyde*. About Day-break, the Earl made a Halt, and receiving farther Intelligence of the Strength of the Enemy, it was reſolved, that the Cavalry ſhould be drawn up, in Order of Battle, to cover the March of the Infantry, which, at the ſame Time, was directed to keep along the Riſing Grounds, making Halts, and putting themſelves in Battle-Array, from Time to Time, as the Generals, who lead them, ſhould think fit, and keeping always in Sight of the Horſe, that they might be ready to ſupport them, if they ſhould be attack'd. About eleven, in the Morning, the Foot had gained the narrow Paſſes, and lined the Hedges; And the *French* Horſe advancing, in great Numbers, with the *Troops of the Houſhold*, at their Head, preſs'd hard

hard upon the Earl, who was at the Head of the Horſe, and behaved with great Reſolution; however, he made his Retreat in good Order, paſſing thro' the Lane, along which the Foot were poſted, and keeping at the ſame Time, as broad a Front as the Ground would permit. In the mean Time, a conſiderable Body of Horſe was ordered to the Riſing Ground on the right Hand; whereupon, the *Troops of the French King's Houſhold*, charging ſome of the *Dutch* Squadrons, juſt as they were wheeling, in Purſuance of their Orders, puſh'd them upon the Foot, and put two or three Battalions into Confuſion; but, by the Conduct of the General Officers, no farther Miſchief enſued, and the Enemy were ſoon repulſed. On the other Side, there happened a rude Encounter, between ſome of the Squadrons of the *French Houſhold*, and ſome *Daniſh* Horſe, with ſome of the Earl's *Carabineers*, who ſo vigorouſly maintained their Ground, that the *French* were beaten back, tho' with equal Loſs; and the *French* themſelves were oblig'd to own, that they could not enough admire the Courage of theſe Troops: Both Parties having charged, Hand to Hand, without Firing. By this Time, the *Confederates* were got under the Cannon of *Nimeguen*, which, ſoon after, began to play upon the Enemy; and the Burghers of that City ſignaliz'd themſelves, on this Occaſion, in an extraordinary Manner; for tho' they had but a Gunner in the Town, they manag'd their Artillery with a ſurprizing Succeſs. The *Engliſh*, who had the Honour to cloſe the Retreat, maintain'd their Poſt in excellent Order, being aſſiſted by the Prince of *Wirtemberg*, who put a Stop to the Troops of the Houſhold, which

1702.

The Deſign fruſtrated.

1702. were advanced very near them, and preparing to charge them, towards the End of their March. Twenty Battalions of Foot were thereupon poſted in the Outworks of *Nimeguen*, and the whole Army was under Arms, all that Night, as the Enemy was likewiſe.

THE next Morning, a great Body of *French* Horſe and Foot advanced towards the *Allies*, as if they intended to attack them; but this they did only to cover the March of their own Army, which filed off towards *Cleves*, venting their Rage at their Diſappointment, upon the defenſeleſs Country, which they rifled and laid waſte; deſtroying the Park, and all the delicious Walks and Avenues to that charming Place. If we will give Credit to the Marquis *de Quincy*, the *French* made a Booty, upon this Occaſion, of the Value of above 500,000 Crowns, and near 20,000 Oxen. Thus was the important City of *Nimeguen* (which, if taken, would have afforded the *French* an Opportunity to penetrate into the very Heart of the *United Provinces*) almoſt miraculouſly preſerved, being but in an indifferent Condition, and the Enemy miſſing but half an Hour of arriving in the Outworks, before the Earl of *Athlone*. The Deſign was well laid, and, as we ſee, wanted very little of being as well executed. It muſt have had fatal Effects, had it ſucceeded; for the *French* would either have got into *Nimeguen*, or have forced the Earl of *Athlone* to fight, at a great Diſadvantage; but the Earl ſo carefully watched their Motions, that he got before them; tho', by this Means, as we have ſeen, he was obliged to abandon *Cleves*, to the Fury of the Enemy. The Burghers, ſeing their imminent

nent Danger, did Wonders, upon this Occaſion, 1702.
it being they themſelves, who, at the firſt Approach of the Enemy, broke open the Doors of the Arſenal, and bringing out the Cannon, Bullets, and Ammunition, haul'd the ſame, without Horſes, and planted them on the Ramparts and Outworks; ſo that, in a little Time, they fired upon the Enemy, with 160 Pieces.

I HAVE not found any certain Account, what was the Loſs, on either Side, in this Action. If we will believe the Marquis *de Quincy*, the *French* loſt, at moſt, but 150 Men, and 50 Horſes, and the *Allies*, at leaſt, 11 or 1200. But, all Circumſtances conſidered, this Computation is too extravagant to gain Credit.

THE prudent Conduct of the Earl of *Athlone*, on this Occaſion, raiſed his Credit, as much as it ſunk that of *Bouflers*, who, tho' he had a ſuperiour Army, animated by the Preſence of ſo great a Prince, yet was able to do nothing. Every Thing he undertook was unſucceſsful, and his Parties, which engaged with thoſe of the Earl of *Athlone*, were almoſt always beaten. *Prudent Conduct of the E. of* Athlone.

WHILE theſe Things were tranſacting on the *Lower Rhine*, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* decamped, on the ſixteenth of *June*, N. S. from *Langencandel*, and poſted his Army before *Landau*, where he ſpent the Reſt of the Month, in raiſing Batteries, and making his Approaches. *Landau* is a ſmall, but ſtrong City of *Germany*, in the *Lower Circle*, and *Palatinate* of the *Rhine*, once *Imperial*; but ſubject to the *French* ever ſince the Treaty of *Munſter*. It ſtands on the River *Quiech*, about eight Miles *South* of *Neuſtadt*, about thirteen *Weſt* of *Philipſburg*, Landau *beſieged*.

1702. and about ſixteen *South-Weſt* of *Spires*. Of this Siege I ſhall only mention, that the King of the *Romans* was preſent at it, and that it ſurrender'd the twelfth of *September*.

The Earl of Marlb. *made Maſter General of the Ordnance.*

THUS was the State of the Campaign before the Earl of *Marlborough* (to whom I ſhall now return) left *England*. He ſet out for *Holland*, the twelfth of *May*, Her Majeſty having, for the better Support of his Dignity, conferred upon him the Place of *Maſter General of the Ordnance*. His Lordſhip, upon his Arrival at the *Hague*, having the Character of Ambaſſadour as well as Captain General, had ſeveral Conferences with the Deputies of the *States*, before he departed for the Army; in which he gave them all poſſible Aſſurances of Her Majeſty's Affection, and Reſolution to ſupport them, in all Emergencies. The Earl of *Athlone* was ſet on, by the other *Dutch* Generals, to inſiſt on his Quality of *Velt-Marſhal*, and, as ſuch, to ſhare the Command with the Earl of *Marlborough*, by Turns. His late Conduct had brought him into a High Reputation; however, the *States* obliged him, in this, to yield to the Earl, whom, notwithſtanding this Oppoſition, They declared, as I have ſaid above, *Generaliſſimo* of all their Forces, and ſent Orders to all their Generals, and other Officers, to obey him. Their Prudence and Policy in this was generally applauded; for as, on the one Hand, no Perſon was better qualified for the ſupream Command, than his Lordſhip; ſo, on the other Side, nothing could endear them more to Her Majeſty, to whom this additional Honour, conferred on Her General, could not but be highly acceptable, as it

Arrives at the Hague.

Is declared Generaliſſimo *of the* Dutch *Forces.*

was

was, likewiſe, to the *Engliſh* Nation in ge- 1702.
neral.

THE Earl, on his Side, made ſo modeſt and becoming a Uſe of the Power put into his Hands, as ſoon gain'd him the Hearts of all the General Officers who were under him, and, to the Earl of *Athlone*, in particular, he behaved in ſo courteous and obliging a Manner, that the Command ſeemed to be equal between them. *His prudent Conduct.*

ALL Things being now regulated with the Deputies of the *States*, his Lordſhip left the *Hague*, the thirtieth of *June*, N. S. and went to *Breda*, from whence he ſent what Detachments could be ſpared, from that Place, and other Garriſons, to the Camp at *Nimeguen*. He follow'd thither himſelf, the ſecond of *July*, where, the next Day, the Earl of *Athlone*, Lieutenant-General *Dopf*, and the other General Officers, made him a Viſit. At an Interview with them, he gave the neceſſary Orders for drawing the Army together. Nineteen Battalions of the Troops which had been employ'd at the Siege of *Keyſerſwaert*, the Troops of *Heſſe* and *Lunenburg*, the *Engliſh* Forces from *Breda*, under Major General *Lumley*, and other Troops, having joined the Army, a Camp was formed at *Deckemberg*, and *Budweick*, conſiſting of ſeventy-ſix Battalions of Foot, and 120 Squadrons of Horſe and Dragoons, amounting together, to about 60,000 Men, with ſixty-two Cannon, eight Mortars, and *Hawbitzers*, and four and twenty *Pontons*. Thither the Earl went, likewiſe, and, on the eighth, he called a Council of War, of all the General Officers, to concert the farther Operations of the Campaign. *He goes to Nimeguen, and takes upon him the Command of the Army.* *Force of the Confederate Army.*

1702.

Diſingenuity of a French *Author.*

I CANNOT forbear obſerving, upon this Occaſion, the Diſingenuity of a *French* Officer and Author (the Marquis *de Quincy*) who, ſpeaking of the Earl of *Marlborough*'s Arrival, to command the Army, to depreciate his Capacity, ſays; "This new General, who had "not yet appear'd at the Head of an Army, "attain'd to this high Pitch of Honour, by "the Influence his Lady had with the Queen "of *England*". But in this he ſhews himſelf an imperfect, as well as a partial Hiſtorian. The Author of the Continuation of *Rapin* ſhews he was better acquainted with this great Man's Character, when, ſpeaking of the Wiſdom of the Queen's Choice of him, to be Her General, he ſays; "Never was there a better Choice of "a General; By this Choice alone, Queen "*Ann* outdid all Her Predeceſſor had ever "done for the Glory and Advantage of the "Nation: This great Man (adds he) was born "to acquire an immortal Glory at the Head "of Armies. It was a Happineſs to *France*, "and a Misfortune to *England*, and her *Allies*, "that King *William* (who was almoſt always "unfortunate) did not place him at the Head "of His Troops. This *Hero* was of a Noble "and Martial Preſence, and of a ready and "penetrating Underſtanding. His Intrepidity "render'd him incapable of being either "turb'd or deceiv'd, in the Meaſures he took. "He was not, however, ſo attach'd to them "but that he could change them, when Circumſtances requir'd it. He was quick-ſighted to a Miracle; He no ſooner caſt his Eye "on an Army, an Intrenchment, or a Place, "but he knew the *Fort* and the *Foible*, the "good and the bad State of it: He was active,

" tive, vigilant, bold in his Deſigns, but bold- 1702.
" er, yet always with Prudence and Circum-
" ſpection, in the Execution of them; And
" what is more, he was inſpir'd with a certain
" Confidence, a Sort of Aſſurance of Victory,
" that he knew how to infuſe into his Soldiers;
" To all theſe great Talents we may add Hu-
" manity and Courteſy. So far from inſulting
" the Vanquiſh'd, he had a ſincere Compaſſion
" for them, and endeavour'd to alleviate their
" Misfortunes, *&c* ".

THE Earl of *Athlone* was always inclined to cautious and ſure, tho', at the ſame Time, feeble Counſels; But the Earl of *Marlborough*, when the Army was thus brought together, finding his Force if not ſuperiour in Number to that of the Duke of *Burgundy*, yet juſtly ſo by other Advantages, march'd his Army, on the ſixteenth, over the *Maeſe*, and encamp'd at *Over-Aſſelt*, near *Grave*, within two Leagues and a half of the Enemy, who had entrench'd themſelves between *Gock* and *Gennep*. *The Earl goes in Purſuit of the Enemy;*

UPON this Occaſion, he is reported to have ſaid to the Field-Deputies of the *States-General*, *That the* French *ſhould be no longer their bad Neighbours, and that he would oblige them to march farther off from that Country, with a Witneſs:* Whether our *Hero* did give the Deputies this Aſſurance, I ſhall not pretend to determine; and the leſs, becauſe it ſeems, in ſome Meaſure, to exceed the Bounds of his accuſtomed Modeſty; But that he perform'd what is here inſinuated, we ſhall ſoon ſee.

I HAVE not any where found the Force of the Enemy's Army, at this Time, certainly determin'd. One Author, upon Hear-ſay, computes it at 80 Battalions of Foot, and 150 Squadrons. *Force of the Enemy's Army.*

1702. Squadrons of Horſe, having with them 92 Cannons, 21 Mortars and *Hawbitzers*, and 12 *Pontons*: But ſure, with ſo great a Superiority, they would have ſtood their Ground, their Troops not being yet diſcourag'd by any very ill Succeſs.

The late Duke of York *ſerves under the Earl.*

THE Earl had a great Number of Illuſtrious Volunteers in his Army, who were deſirous of improving in the Art of War, under ſo renowned a General; Among theſe was Prince *Erneſt Auguſtus* of *Hannover* (afterwards Duke of *York*, and Biſhop of *Oſnabrug*, the late King's younger Brother) whom he declared Major-General of the Army, which his Highneſs was pleaſed to accept of. At the ſame Time, his Lordſhip appointed Colonel *Withers*, Colonel *Stanley*, and Colonel *Frederick Hamilton*, Brigadiers of three *Engliſh* Brigades.

The Earl continues to purſue the French.

THE ſix and twentieth, the *Confederate* Army repaſs'd the *Maeſe*, below the *Grave*, and, on the eight and twentieth, encamp'd at *Geldorp*, upon which Motion, the *French* went over the ſame River, about *Venlo*. Two Days after, the Allies removed from *Geldorp* to *Gravenbroeck*, where finding a *French* Garriſon, in the Caſtle, ſeated in a Moraſs, and ſurrounded by a double Ditch, and good Palliſadoes, a Detachment under the Command of the Lord *Cuts*, briskly attack'd it, and, with the Aſſiſtance of four Cannon and two *Hawbitzers*, after a ſhort Reſiſtance, obliged the Garriſon, conſiſting of a Captain and 100 Men, to ſurrender at Diſcretion. The ſame Day, the *Britiſh* Artillery arrived in the Camp from *Holland*, under Convoy of two Regiments of *Engliſh* Horſe, and two of *Engliſh* Foot, which had left *England* the Beginning of *June*.

Takes the Caſtle of Gravenbroeck.

THE

THE ſecond of *Auguſt*, N. S. they advanced to *Petit Brugel*, following the *French*, who retreated as they advanced, ſo cloſe, that they were obliged to abandon the *Spaniſh Guelderland*, which was thereby left to the Diſcretion of the *Confederates*. The Earl was for venturing, upon any Terms, on a deciſive Action, for which End, the whole Army was order'd to their Arms, the next Morning early: But the *Dutch* were fearful of putting Things to ſuch a Hazard, and would not conſent to it. The *Penſionary*, and thoſe who were at the Helm, at the *Hague*, proceeded with the more Caution, becauſe, upon the King's Death, thoſe who had always oppoſed him, begun to form Parties in ſeveral of their Towns, and were deſigning a Change of Government; So that any Publick Misfortune, in their Conduct, would have given great Advantages to thoſe who lay upon the Watch for them. The *Penſionary* was more particularly aimed at, and this made him the more unwilling to run any Riſque. Thoſe who pretended to be good Judges thought, that if the Earl of *Marlborough*'s Advice had been followed, Matters might have been brought to a happy Deciſion; And the more, as it afterwards appear'd, that the *French* Army was not above half got to their Camp, greatly fatigued by an almoſt continual March, of two Days and two Nights, and in the greateſt Conſternation: But as the Earl was prudent in his Conduct of the Army, ſo he was careful not to take too much upon himſelf.

1702.

The French *retreat.*

The Earl is for Engaging them;

But the Dutch *are againſt it.*

FROM *Petit-Brugel*, the Army march'd, in Order to demoliſh the Walls of *Peer* and *Bray*, in the Biſhoprick of *Liege*, two ſmall Towns which had been of great Service to the Enemy, in ſecuring

Farther Motions of the Confederate *Army.*

1702. curing their Convoys. The twelfth, the *Confederate* Army encamp'd at *Everbeck*; And, on the twenty-ſecond, at *Holchteren*, where they found the *French* ſeemingly preparing to receive them, being very advantageouſly poſted, and having received divers Re-inforcements, making about 18 or 20,000 Men: So that they were now in a Condition, if Courage had not been wanting, to venture an Engagement. The Earl of *Marlborough* rang'd his Troops in Order of Battle, and, in that Manner, continued his March. The Duke of *Burgundy*, and the *French* Generals, ranged their Army, likewiſe, in Order of Battle; Tho' they very well knew there could be no Action; The two Armies, being ſeparated by Marſhes and *Defilees*, in ſuch Manner, that it was impoſſible for either to attack the other, without a very great Hazard. In this Poſture, both Armies remained two Days cannonading each other, and expecting which would begin the Attack: But the *French*, not willing to run the Riſque, tho' they were ſo well ſecur'd, decamp'd ſilently in the Night, and took Poſt at *Berringen.*

THE *French* to do ſome Honour, at leaſt, to the Duke of *Burgundy*, for this his firſt Campaign, pretended it was the *Allies* who declin'd the Battle; "The Enemy (ſays a late Author) "continued in Order of Battle, during the "whole Time the two Armies cannonaded one "another, and if they had but advanced never "ſo little towards us, an Engagement would "have enſued; But they would not come out "of their advantageous Camp. The Duke of "*Burgundy* took a View of this Situation, the "next Morning, at Break of Day; But he "found it impoſſible to attack them. The "Enemy

" Enemy having, however, made a Motion, 1702.
" the 24th, we were in Hopes then, we ſhould
" have been able to have come at them; But
" having Intelligence, by ſeveral Ways, that
" they had, on their Left, a Moraſs that was
" unpaſſable, and a Water on their Right;
" So that it would have been very difficult to
" come near them; It was determined to retreat,
" in Order to ſecure a Convoy, which was ex-
" pected to join the Army." The ſame Author, with equal Juſtice, pretends, that the *Allies* had 7 or 800 Men, kill'd or wounded by their Cannon; But that, on their Side, they had only 106 kill'd, and 140 wounded. A very pretty Gloſs to cover a precipitate Retreat! A Retreat (I ſay) ſo precipitate, that the Baggage not being able to follow quick enough, the Duke of *Burgundy*, according to their own Accounts, was obliged to ſleep in the open Air.

BRIGADIER *Roſs*, with ſome Squadrons, fell in with their Rear, and charg'd them, in their Flight, for upwards of a League together; But without any conſiderable Advantage, with ſuch Precipitation they fled before him: A great Number of the Enemy's Troops took, however, this Occaſion to deſert. The *Confederate* Army was at this Time encreas'd to 84 Battalions, and 150 Squadrons, having with them 92 Cannon, 21 Mortars and *Hawbitzers* and 40 Pontons; But the *French* Army was, likewiſe, by this Time, augmented, more than in Proportion.

THE Duke of *Burgundy*, in the mean Time, finding himſelf thus obliged to retreat, as the *Confederate* Army advanced, thought it very unbecoming his Dignity to continue in the

The Duke of Burgundy *ſick of the Campaign.*

1702. *French* Army, under theſe Diſadvantages; So he left the Marſhal to command, and ended his firſt Campaign very ingloriouſly; And, it is plain, the *French* King was diſſatisfied with the Conduct of *Bouflers*; For He never repos'd any great Confidence in him afterwards. This may be ſaid of the Marſhal de *Bouflers*, in general, that as long as he only commanded a Flying Camp, to ſurprize a Poſt, bombard a City, or perform any other Expedition of that Nature, he juſtly acquir'd a Reputation: But the Office of a General, which requires great Judgment, as well as Valour, was too much for him, and he ſoon ſunk under the Weight of it.

Character of the Marſhal de Bouflers.

THE *Dutch*, who were in the deepeſt Conſternation, but a few Weeks before, on the Retreat of their Army, under the Cannon of *Nimeguen* (before the Earl of *Marlborough* arrived) had now the Pleaſure to ſee the Enemy flee in their Turn; And thus were the *United Provinces* preſerved, by the Earl's Prudence and Vigilance, whilſt the Duke of *Burgundy*, who, as I have ſaid above, came to the Army to be taught how to fight, learnt nothing from the Marſhal *de Bouflers*, but how to avoid an Engagement.

Happineſs of the Dutch *under the Conduct of the Earl of* Marlborough.

THE Earl of *Marlborough* went on, taking ſeveral Places, which made little or no Reſiſtance; But finding, at Length, that the *French* were not to be brought to an Engagement, on equal Terms, and the Deputies of the *States General*, who followed the Army, having repreſented to him, that it was much more for the Advantage of *Holland*, to diſpoſſeſs the Enemy of the Places they yet held in the *Spaniſh Guelderland*, whereby the free Navigation on the *Maeſe* was interrupted, and the important

His Succeſs.

tant Town of *Maeſtricht*, in a Manner block'd up, he therefore, diſpos'd all Things for the Siege of *Venlo*. General *Schulz*, in the mean Time, with a ſmall Detachment, ſix Cannon, and two *Hawbitzers*, took the Town and Caſtle of *Wert*, which capitulated after a ſhort Reſiſtance. 1702. *The Caſtle of Wert taken.*

SOME Accounts ſay, that when the *Confederate* Army march'd, the twenty-ſecond of *Auguſt*, N. S. from *Everbeck* to *Holchteren*, the Earl was reſolved to force the *French*, to quit their Camp at *Bergeick*, or cut off their Convoys. That when the former came to their Ground, the Enemy appeared, as I have ſaid above, in Battle Array, behind ſeveral Moraſſes and Defilees; Whereupon the *Confederates* actually advanced againſt them; But their Eagerneſs to fight was put a Stop to by the Badneſs of the Ground, upon which Account, they could not come at the *French* without great Diſadvantage; Tho' the Armies were once ſo near together, as to cannonade one another, a whole Day together. The Earl of *Marlborough* ſaw now very plainly, that they were as aſſiduous to avoid a Battle, as he to engage them to it; For they always retired before him, or poſted themſelves in unacceſſible Places: He therefore, thought fit to decamp from thence, the nine and twentieth, and march'd to *Aſch*; Reſolving to drive the Enemy from their Holds on the *Maeſe*, and ſecure the Navigation of that River, and the Communication with *Maeſtricht*. *The* French *avoid a Battle.* *The Earl of* Marlb. *decamps.*

SEVERAL Officers, ſhew'd however, a diſlike at the Earl's Decamping, and thought the Enemy might have been attack'd, without too great a Hazard; But the Earl knew, by what had *Some Officers diſguſted at it.*

1702. had paſſed before, the Deputies would never have conſented to it.

Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Albemarle *to Monſ.* ** *at* Zell.

THE Lord *Albemarle*, in a Letter to Monſ. **** at *Zell*, of the fifth of *September*, has the following Expreſſions, on this Occaſion; *Voila nôtre brave Prince* Eugene, *qui a fait des Merveilles*; *Je me mange le Cœur de Chagrin, de ce que je vois, que nous profitons ici ſi peu de nôtre Avantage*; *car huit ou dix jours paſsés, lorſque nous étions en preſence des Ennemis, nous ne devions pas les avoir laiſsé échaper, comme nous avons fait, & on aura cette negligence à ſe reprocher long tems.* (That is, "Our brave "Prince *Eugene* has done Wonders; I could "almoſt dy with Vexation to ſee we are ſo "little the better here, for our Advantage; For "when we were, eight or ten Days ago, with-"in Sight of the Enemy, we ought not to "have let them eſcape, as we did; And we "ſhall have Reaſon, a long while, to blame "ourſelves, for this Neglect.

Siege of Venlo.

THE ſame Day, the Town of *Venlo* was inveſted by Monſ. *Obdam*, with a Detachment of *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, commanded under him by the Lord *Cuts*, on one Side of the *Maeſe*, by Fort St. *Michael*, and by the Margrave of *Brandenburg*, the late King of *Pruſſia*'s Brother, with His *Pruſſian* Majeſty's Forces, commanded, under him, by the Baron *de Heyde*, on the other. General *Coborn* had the Direction of the Attacks, and the Prince of *Naſſau Saarburg* had the Command of the Siege. Upon this, the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had before quitted the *French* Army, returned to *Paris*, to avoid being Witneſs of the Taking of that Place. The *French*, however, pretend, that the Reaſon of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s leaving the

the Army was, becauſe he had been oblig'd to make Detachments from his Army, to re-inforce all the Garriſons of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, the Biſhoprick of *Liege*, and *Electorate* of *Cologn*, which had ſo weakned his Army, that there were no more Laurels to be gather'd this Campaign. But it would be very difficult to ſay where he gather'd any before. 1702.

VENLO is a very ſtrong Town in the *Low Countries*, in the Territory of *Ruremond*, in *Spaniſh Guelderland*. It ſtands on the River *Maeſe*, near the Biſhoprick of *Juliers*, ten Miles *South-Weſt* of *Guelders*, and eleven *North* of *Ruremond*. The Troops employ'd in this Siege, at both Attacks, conſiſted of two and thirty Battalions, and ſix and thirty Squadrons, with 64 Cannon, 24 Mortars, and *Hawbitzers*, and a great Number of *Cohorn*-Mortars. The Town and Fort were commanded by Count *de Varo*, Major-General *L'Abadie*, and two Brigadiers, having under their Command ſix Battalions of Foot, and two Squadrons of Horſe, with 38 Cannon, and 12 Mortars mounted, and great Store of Ammunition. *A Deſcription of the Place.*

THE ſeventh of *September*, N. S. the Trenches were opened, on both Sides the *Maeſe*, without any Loſs, the *Confederates* having caſt up ſuch high Works as almoſt covered them, before they were perceived by the Enemy. The eighth, the Beſiegers were re-inforced, by a Body of *Munſter* Troops, conſiſting of 2000 Foot, and 500 Horſe; And, the following Days, the Attacks were carried on with great Vigour: But the moſt memorable Action, which happened during this Siege, was performed by the Lord *Cuts*, in the following Manner. *The Trenches open'd.*

1702. *Fort St. Michael ſtorm'd by the Lord* Cuts *and the* Engliſh.

ON the eighteenth, His Lordſhip was commanded to attack Fort St. *Michael*, between the Baſtion, which is next the Plain, and the Ravelin, which lies on the *North*-Side of it, having under his Command Brigadier-General *Hamilton*, with the Royal Regiment of *Ireland*, and General *Hukelom*'s Regiment, and a Lieutenant-Colonel, with 172 Grenadiers and 100 Fuſileers (ſome Accounts ſay 200 of the former, and 150 of the latter) moſt *Engliſh*, under a Lieutenant-Colonel; As alſo 300 Workmen, with a competent Number of Engineers, under Colonel *Blood*. His Lordſhip's Orders were to make a Lodgment, from the Point of the Ravelin to the Baſtion, leaving him at Liberty to proceed farther, if he found it practicable; And, at the ſame Time, the Prince of *Anhalt*, with the ſame Number of Troops, was to make an Attack, between the Baſtion and the Ravelin, on the *North* Side, with the like diſcretionary Orders, either to lodge himſelf, or to advance, as he ſhould ſee Occaſion. The Signal for both Attacks, which was to be the Blowing up a Barrel of Powder, and the Diſcharge of all the Batteries of the Beſiegers, both Cannon and Mortars, was accordingly made a little before ſix in the Evening.

Prudent Management of the Lord Cuts.

THE Lord *Cuts*, who, at firſt, had no Thoughts of taking the Main Fort, had given Orders, on his Attack, to the Officers who led the Grenadiers, firſt to clear the covered Way of the Enemy; and, if they ſaw it practicable, when that was done, to attack the Ravelin, Sword in Hand, aſſuring them, in the Hearing of all the Grenadiers, that, *as ſoon as he ſaw fifty of the latter, upon the Top of the Ravelin, he would ſacrifice himſelf and his Troops,*

Troops, rather than not ſuſtain them; and that, therefore, they might go on with Undauntedneſs, if they found it poſſible to paſs: His Lordſhip heightned their Courage and Alacrity, *by promiſing Rewards, in Her Majeſty's Name, to all who ſhould ſignalize themſelves.* His Lordſhip's Orders were executed, with inexpreſſible Vigour and Chearfulneſs, and, as ſoon as the Grenadiers, whom his Lordſhip, with diſtinguiſh'd Intrepidity, and admirable Preſence of Mind, ſuſtained with freſh Numbers, had clear'd the Counterſcarp, with their Fire, and avoided a Mine, which was unſuccesfully ſprung by the Enemy, they boldly attack'd the Ravelin, Sword in Hand, encouraging and aſſiſting one another, upon the Aſſurance of being ſeconded. 1702.

THIS the Lord *Cuts* perceiving, he, according to his Promiſe, march'd with all his Forces, engag'd the Enemy, and was ſoon Maſter of the Ravelin. The *French* then made a great Fire upon the *Engliſh*, from the Rampart of the Fort; upon which, the Lord *Cuts* ſent Orders to the Officers, that were at the Head of the Grenadiers, to throw in their Grenadoes, and attack the Fort, Sword in Hand, if it were poſſible to find a Paſſage; which they did, by charging and following the Enemy ſo cloſe, that they had not Time to break the Bridge, tho' it was hotly diſputed by Fire, and Puſh of Pike, eſpecially by the Enemy's Grenadiers, from the Flank of one of their Baſtions: But the Bravery of the *Engliſh* Grenadiers ſurmounted all Difficulties, by following the Example of their Officers, and ſome brave *Engliſh* and other Voluntiers of Diſtinction, as the Prince *Erneſt Auguſtus*, late Duke *His Bravery.*

1702. of *York*, the Earl of *Huntington*, the Lord *Lorn* (now Duke of *Argyle*) the Lord *Mark Kerr*, the Prince *d'Avergne*, Sir *Richard Temple*, Baronet (now Lord Viſcount *Cobham*) Colonel *Webb*, and Mr. *Dalrimple*. Some of them attack'd the Bridge, and others clamber'd up the Ramparts, after having thrown in their Grenadoes, and forced their Way into the Fort.

Brave Action of the Earl of Huntington. The Earl of *Huntington* call'd to the Soldiers, who had got over the Palliſadoes, to help him over, and promis'd all the Mony he had about him, which he gave them very generouſly, and led them on with much Bravery and Succeſs. The Enemy continued to defend themſelves, 'till the *Engliſh* pour'd in ſo faſt upon them, that they were no longer able to reſiſt; which as ſoon as the Lord *Cuts* perceived, he check'd the Fury of the Soldiers, and put a Stop to the Slaughter. The *Engliſh* took about 200 Priſoners, of whom, 30 were Officers, with a Brigadier-General, and the Governour; but all the Reſt, that were in the Fort, to the Number of 600, were killed, or drowned, in endeavouring to eſcape, except twelve (the *French* ſay eighty) who paſs'd the *Maeſe* in ſmall Boats.

The Fort taken.

Pretences of the French *to leſſen the Honour of it.* THE *French*, to depreciate the Honour gain'd by the *Allies*, and more particularly by the *Engliſh*, in this Action, pretend, that being ſenſible of the Weakneſs of the Garriſon of the Fort, Orders had been given them, that Morning, to abandon the Cover'd-way and Half-moons, to cut off the Draw-bridges, and to make what Fire they could from the Body of the Place; That they were juſt about executing theſe Orders, when the *Allies* attack'd the Cover'd-way of the Fort; and that the whole

whole Garriſon conſiſted only of Men, juſt come out of the Hoſpitals of *Ruremond* and *Venlo*, not perfectly recovered. 1702.

WHEN the Lord *Cuts* found himſelf entirely in Poſſeſſion of the Forts, having left 400 Men, in the Out-works, he poſted a Guard at the great Port towards the Town, and a ſmall Guard at each Sally-Port, ſeized the Magazines, ſent out a Hundred Grenadiers to diſcover, on the Side of the *Maeſe*, if any of the Enemy were there, drew up the reſt of his Troops, upon the Rampart, towards the Town, turned the Enemy's Cannon upon themſelves, made a Diſcharge to give Notice to the Camp that all was well, and continued under Arms all Night. In the Magazine of the Fort, and round the Rampart, were found 30 fine Braſs Cannon, ſix Mortars, and a large Quantity of Powder, Ball, Corn, Meal, Brandy, and other Proviſions.

OF the *Engliſh*, in this Action, two Captains were wounded, two Lieutenants, and one Enſign killed, and three wounded; one Serjeant killed, and three wounded, 130 Men kill'd, and 32 wounded; and the Lord *Cuts*'s *Aid de Camp*, Captain *Bolas*, with Mr. *Eley*, an *Engliſh* Voluntier, kill'd on the Spot. The Loſs of the *Dutch* was no leſs than that of the *Engliſh*. *Loſs of the Engliſh in this Action.*

NEVER was more Bravery ſhewn, than on this Occaſion, by all, both Officers and Soldiers, of the reſpective Nations, under his Lordſhip's Command, but eſpecially the *Engliſh*. Among the Reſt, the Prince of *Hanover*, a Voluntier at this Siege, paſs'd the Night before the Attack in the Trenches, with the Lord *Cuts*, behaved himſelf with a great deal of Gallantry, and ſtaid moſt of the Night with his *Bravery of the late Duke of* York.

1702. Lordſhip in the Fort. Colonel *Blood*, who acted as firſt Engineer, under General *Coborn*, and was to have made the Lodgment, when he ſaw that the Lord *Cuts* had quitted that Deſign, to puſh on farther, as we have ſeen, ſhew'd the Part of a brave Officer, charging with the Men, Sword in Hand, and killing an Officer of the Enemy's Grenadiers, who made a vigorous Oppoſition with his Party; And Monſ. *de la Martinerie*, a *French* Proteſtant Engineer, lately ſent from *England*, by His Royal Highneſs, was alſo very ſerviceable in this Action, as well by his Bravery as his Skill: For it was partly thro' his Advice, that the Lord *Cuts* reſolved to make himſelf Maſter of the Fort; Rightly Conjecturing, that if the Enemy made a vigorous Reſiſtance at the Ravelin, and were beaten off, as, indeed, they were, they would be ſo fatigued, as not to be able to hold out long in the Fort; And it happened ſo accordingly. This was a Bold and Glorious Action, chiefly owing to the Bravery and Conduct of the Lord *Cuts*, who himſelf behaved in ſo gallant a Manner, as juſtly deſerved a general Applauſe.

And of Colonel Blood.

Bravery and Skill of Monſ. de la Martinerie.

Gallant Conduct of the Prince of Anhalt.

WHILST theſe Glorious Actions were performing, on the Side of the Lord *Cuts*'s Attack, the Prince of *Anhalt* behaved himſelf with Gallantry ſuitable to his Birth, and his Troops, encouraged by his Example, attack'd the Enemy with all imaginable Vigour, and carried the Ravelin, on their Side, Sword in Hand; But the *French* having broke the Bridge, between that Ravelin and the Fort, tho' ſome of the *Pruſſians* leap'd into the Ditch and ſwam over, it was impoſſible for the Reſt of their Troops to paſs.

THE

THE Beſiegers employed the four following Days in firing furiouſly from their Batteries upon the Wall of the Town, in Order to widen the Breaches; And all other neceſſary Preparations were made for a General Aſſault, to which the Soldiers ſhew'd an eager Deſire. The twenty-third, the *Confederates*, having received Advice of the Surrender of *Landau*, expreſs'd their Joy for the News, in Order of Battle, with the triple Diſcharge of all their Cannon and ſmall Arms. This the Beſieged, as it was reported, took to be a Signal for the Approaching Storm upon the Town; Becauſe the Attack of Fort *St. Michael*, which had very much intimidated the Garriſon, begun in the ſame Manner; They, therefore, immediately beat a Parly, and ſurrender'd the Place, on the five and twentieth. *French* Writers themſelves allow, that the great Motions they obſerv'd in the Camp of the Beſiegers, the 23d. in the Evening, which they apprehended was in Order to a general Aſſault, determin'd them to beat a Parly, and deſire to capitulate. Purſuant to the Capitulation, they were conducted to *Antwerp*, with their Arms and Baggage; But without any Cannon or Mortars, as the / at firſt inſiſted on, and which the Prince o *Naſſau-Saarbrug* would, upon no Account al low them. During this Siege, which laſted four Weeks, the Beſieged are computed to have loſt as many Men, and more commiſſion'd Officers, than the Beſiegers. 1702. Venlo *ſurrenders.*

THE Earl of *Marlborough* was no ſoon informed of the Surrender of *Venlo*, tha his active Genius put him upon making th beſt of the Remainder of the Seaſon, and Pu ing on to new Conqueſts. He, therefore, orde Ruremond,

1702. thoſe *Engliſh*, *Dutch* and *Pruſſian* Forces, which had taken *Venlo*, to inveſt *Ruremond* (or *Roermond*) another Town of *Spaniſh Guelderland*, of equal, or more conſiderable Importance, tho' not ſo well fortified as *Venlo*; A Place generally reckoned the ſecond City of *Guelderland*, ſtanding upon the *Maeſe*, at the Confluence of that River and the *Roer*; Eleven Miles *South* of *Venlo*, and one and twenty *South* of *Guelders*. It has ſeveral ſtately Monaſteries, among which, that of the *Carthuſians* is the moſt conſiderable. The Town was inveſted, the nine and twentieth of *September*. N. S. and, the *Confederates*, as ſoon as the Trenches were open'd, attacking it with a more than common Vigour, or rather Fury, the Garriſon, conſiſting of four Battalions of Foot, commanded by the Prince *de Hoorn*, found it was to no Purpoſe to attempt a long Reſiſtance. They, therefore, beat a Parly, the ſixth of *October*, and, the next Day, ſurrender'd the Town upon Articles, the Garriſon being conducted to *Lovain*.

And Stevenſwaert, *beſieged and taken.*

DURING this ſhort Siege, *Stevenſwaert*, a ſmall, but very ſtrong Town, or rather Fortreſs, ſeated on a ſmall Iſland, in the Middle of the *Maeſe*, about five Miles to the *South* of *Ruremond*, defended by a Colonel, with 400 Men, being likewiſe vigorouſly attack'd, by General *Schultz*, with a Detachment, and taken by Capitulation, the Navigation of the *Maeſe*, was, thereby opened, and made free, between *Maeſtricht* and *Holland*: And, all this while, the Marſhal *de Bouflers* ſate ſtill, without making any Motion for the Relief of theſe important Places, or even ſo much as to aim at offering the *Allies* any Diverſion.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

THE *Siege of* Liege, *with other Tranſactions, to the Concluſion of the Year* 1702.

WITH theſe conſiderable Conqueſts, the Deputies of the *States* would very willingly have ſate down contented; But the Earl of *Marlborough*, wiſely foreſeing how valuable a Conqueſt the Fine and Noble City of *Liege* would be, and how highly it would redound to the Reputation of the *Confederate* Arms, and, beſides, the great Importance of it, as he might put a great Part of his Army, in Winter-Quarters there, reſolved to attempt it, and thereby put a Glorious End to the Campaign. This Place, which is number'd among the Great Cities of *Europe*, has, in the City and Suburbs, above a Hundred Churches, eight of which are Collegiate, and 32 Parochial; And the Place is beſides very rich and populous. It is ſituated in a pleaſant Vally, environed with Hills, the River *Maeſe* entering it, in two Branches, accompanied with leſſer Streams, which form many delightful Iſlands. On the Brow of a Hill, which hangs over it, is a Citadel of great Strength, which commands it. It has a famous Univerſity, endow'd with large Eccleſiaſtical Revenues.

1702.

The Siege of Liege *reſolved upon.*

A ſhort Account of that City.

MARSHAL DE BOUFLERS, who ſoon ſuſpected the Earl's Deſign, was, at Length, roused from his Lethargy, and thought it high Time to do ſomething, for the Security of that important Place, which, he juſtly apprehended, was

Motions of the Marſhal de Bouflers *to prevent the Siege.*

1702. was in no ſmall Danger. Being, therefore, accompanied, by the Duke *de Maine*, and ſome Engineers, they took with them, he went twice to view the Fortifications of the Citadel, *viz.* the ſeven and twentieth of *September*, and the ſecond of *October*. He, likewiſe, viſited the moſt conſiderable Poſts, between that City and *Maeſtricht*, making Shew at leaſt, thereby, as if he intended to encamp there; But finding it impracticable, and being informed, that the *Confederate* Army was marching towards *Liege*, he retreated to *Tongren*, with great Precipitation, and, intrench'd himſelf there; But upon the farther Motions of the *Confederate* Army, not thinking himſelf ſafe enough there, he decamp'd, with his Army, from thence, and went towards *Brabant*, to defend ſuch Places, as, at that Time, our brave General had no Thoughts to attack. And here, it was obſervable, how much the Earl of *Marlborough*'s Intelligence and Conduct was ſuperiour to that of the Marſhal's, how he out-did him, in every March, and how active he was in Circumventing all his Deſigns, of which we have the following very memorable Inſtance: *His Excellency, having Notice where the Marſhal deſigned to be one Day at Noon, marched ſo early, and was ſo poſted, that* Bouflers, *with his Army, came within Shot of the* Confederate *Troops, before he knew where he was, and would, in all Probability, have been ruined, Horſe and Foot, if the too cautious* Dutch *Generals (who were influenced by the Deputies of the* States, *attending the Army) could have been prevailed upon to venture a Battle:* But that being prevented, the Marſhal ſtole out of the Trap, by Favour of a dark Night.

He retreats with great Precipitation.

A memorable Inſtance of the Earl of Marlborough's *great Conduct.*

Nor

1702.

The Confederate Army comes before Liege.

NOR was the indefatigable Vigilance of our great Commander leſs conſpicuous, in the extraordinary March he made from his Camp at *Sautendale* to *Liege*, before which Place, he ſate down with his Army, the twelfth of *October* N. S. The Duke decamp'd, with the Grand Army, about one in the Morning, and march'd, in two Columns, towards that important Place. He croſs'd the *Jecker*, a little above *Maeſtricht*, leaving the *Maeſe* to the Left. About four, in the Afternoon, he came within Cannon Shot of the Citadel; And, about Sun-ſetting, both Columns joining, the Camp was form'd along the Hill, near it, on the *North* Side; By which Means, the City, Citadel, and Lower Fort, were, in a Manner, all block'd up. The Governour, and Commander in Chief, was Lieutenant-General *Violaine*, who had twelve Battalions of Foot under his Command, and had, in the two Citadels, near 50 Pieces of Cannon and Mortars mounted, with great Store of Ammunition, and all other Neceſſaries.

THE thirteenth, the whole Army decamp'd, and advanced a little nearer to the City: At their Approach they found the Suburb of *St. Walburg* ſet on Fire by the *French* Garriſon; And the Governour retired, with eight Battalions, into the Great Citadel, having put the Remainder into the ſmaller Citadel, called the *Chartreuſe*. The Chapter and Magiſtracy, having, the Evening before, ſent Commiſſioners to the Earl of *Marlborough*, deſiring to treat, and their Requeſt being readily granted, this Day, three of the Chapter, and as many of the Magiſtracy, came out again, and the Articles being agreed on, they were ſigned by his

1702. his Excellency, by the Deputies of the *States General*, and by the Commiſſioners from the Chapter and Magiſtracy. In Purſuance of theſe Articles, one of the Gates of the City was delivered up to the *Confederates*, the ſame Night, at ten o' Clock, and, on the fourteenth, they took Poſſeſſion of the whole Town, with three *Engliſh* Regiments of Horſe, and as many Battalions of Foot, under the Command of the Lord *Cuts*; the Keys having been delivered to the Earl of *Marlborough* with great Submiſſion.

The City ſurrenders.

The Citadel beſieged.

THE eighteenth of *October*, N. S. in the Evening, the Trenches were opened before the Great Citadel, by four *Engliſh* Battalions, on the Right, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Sommerfelt*, and the like Number of *Dutch*, on the Left, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Fagel*. The very ſame Evening, the *Allies* attacked an Entrenchment of the Enemy's, which occaſioned a great Fire, on both Sides; but, at Length, the *French* were beaten off, and, having attempted to regain that Poſt, they were repuls'd, with conſiderable Loſs.

THE twentieth, at Sun-riſing, the Batteries of the Beſiegers being all erected and compleat, and mounted with 44 Cannon, and 12 Mortars, they began to play againſt the Citadel with great Fury, and thereby blew up a Magazine of the Enemy's, with upwards of 1000 loaded Bombs and Grenadoes, and ſeveral Barrels of Powder.

THE twenty-firſt, the Beſiegers continued to cannonade the Citadel more furiouſly than the Day before, and diſmounted all the Enemy's Batteries, except two Pieces of Cannon, and two Mortars.

THE

THE ſame Evening, the *Confederates* throwing in ſome Bombs into the Place, ſet on fire another of the Enemy's Magazines, in which were 6000 Grenadoes ready fill'd, and a great Quantity of Powder, which blew up, with a frightful Noiſe. The Attack was carried on that Night, with great Succeſs, notwithſtanding the *French* made a Shew of falling upon the Beſiegers; but ſo thick a Fire was poured upon them, that they were glad to retreat, without effecting their Deſign. 1702.

THE twenty-ſecond, the Beſiegers Batteries, which they had now conſiderably augmented, continued to batter the Citadel, with great Fury, and two more Magazines were ſet on Fire, by their Bombs. The ſame Evening, their ſmall Mortars for Grenadoes (an Invention aſcrib'd to Monſ. *Coborn*) being ready, all the Batteries began to play, with ſo much Order, Diſpatch, and Succeſs, that the like was hardly ever before ſeen.

THE twenty-third, Monſ. *Coborn* perceiving that the Batteries had made a conſiderable Breach, reſolved, with the Approbation of the Earl of *Marlborough*, to attack the Counterſcarp, that Evening: And, accordingly, four Battalions, with a Detachment of 500 Grenadiers, on the *Right*, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Sommerfelt*, and the like Number on the *Left*, headed by Lieutenant-General *Fagel*, were appointed for that Attack, which began a little before four o'Clock, in the Afternoon. The Cannon and Mortars having plaid, till that Time, with ſo good Succeſs, that four other Magazines were blown up.

THE Signal being given, the *Confederates* advanced, with great Boldneſs and Unconcern, towards *The Counterſcarp ſtormed.*

1702. towards the Enemy: So ſtrict an Order was likewiſe obſerved, that not a Muſket was fired, tho' the *French* ſufficiently provoked them to it, by the continual Fire on their Side. Being advanced to a proper Diſtance, they attacked the Counterſcarp with ſo much Fury, that the *French* could not defend their Poſt, but ſoon abandon'd it. The *Allies*, in the mean Time, inſtead of lodging themſelves upon it, got in to the Cover'd-way, paſs'd the Ditch, mounted the Breach, at once, and took the Place by Dint of Sword.

And, together with the Citadel, taken Sword in Hand.

In the Heat of the Action, the Lord *Cuts*, who was in the City, with ten Battalions, detach'd 1200 Men, to the Aſſiſtance of the Aſſailants: Theſe ruſh'd ſuddenly and unexpectedly into the Citadel, on that Side near the City; Which contributed not a little to the Succeſs of the Attack; For the Enemy were ſo ſurpriz'd and daunted, to find themſelves fallen upon, in this Manner, on every Side, that they quitted the Breach much ſooner than there was otherwiſe Reaſon to expect they would have done.

Mons. *de Violaine*, the Governour, who, but five Days before, upon a Summons ſent him to ſurrender, gave the Earl of *Marlborough* the haughty Anſwer, *that it would be Time enough to think of that ſix Weeks after*, was ſo ſurprized at this vigorous Attack, and unexpected Boldneſs, that he immediately beat a Parly: But the victorious *Allies*, being already in the Place, would hear nothing of it, and had killed all they met, if the *French* had not thrown down their Arms and beg'd Quarter, which they obtained. At the Concluſion of this Glorious Action, a ſmall Miſtake happen'd, which was fatal

An Accident occaſioned by a Miſtake.

fatal to ſome of the Victors, who, firing ſome ſmall Arms after they were in Poſſeſſion of the Place, gave Occaſion to thoſe who were in the Batteries to believe, that the Enemy had rallied again, on the farther Side of the Citadel; Upon which, they poured in a whole Shower of Bombs, at Random, which, falling among Friends and Foes, did ſome Damage before the Miſtake was diſcover'd. 1702.

A large Booty found in the Citadel.

ALL the Troops, and particularly the *Engliſh*, behaved themſelves to Admiration, and, beſides Honour, got a very conſiderable Booty; for, beſides 36 Pieces of Cannon, and a great Quantity of Arms and Ammunition, in the Caſh of Treaſure alone, they found 300,000 Florins in Gold and Silver, and Notes for 1,200,000 Florins, upon Subſtantial Merchants at *Liege*, which was as good as Money; Beſides a valuable Parcel of Plate belonging to the Governour; And it was affirmed, that *one of our Grenadiers got* 1000 *Louis d'Or's in a Bag.* Among the Reſt, the Extraordinary Bravery of the Hereditary Prince of *Heſſe Caſſel*, deſerves to be recorded; For his Highneſs went Voluntier in the Attack, at the Head of the Grenadiers, and mounting the Breach, the very firſt, ſnatch'd the Colours from the *French* Officer. The Loſs of the *Engliſh* (beſides Mr. *Wentworth*, Brother to the Lord *Raby*, and formerly Page to King *William*, who went Voluntier in the ſaid Attack) was 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Major, 3 Captains, and 6 Subalterns ſlain, 24 Officers wounded, 143 private Soldiers kill'd, and 360 wounded. What the Enemy loſt was computed at double that Number; Over and above which, the Governour and the Duke of *Charoſt* (who were carried to the

Bravery of ſome Officers.

Earl

1702. Earl of *Marlborough*'s Quarters) with the Remainder of eight Battalions, whereof three were *French*, which were in the Citadel, were made Priſoners at Diſcretion.

THE Citadel being thus taken, after a Fight of about three Quarters of an Hour, the Victory of the *Confederates* was, ſoon after, compleated, by the Surrender of the *Chartreuſe*, which they deſigned to have attack'd two Days ſooner, had not the ſtormy Weather, which happened, the ſix and twentieth, and ſeven and twentieth, damaged their Bridge of Boats.

The Chartreuſe ſurrenders.

ON the nine and twentieth, about ten in the Morning, their Mortars began to play, which having ſet the greateſt Part of the Building in Flames, and, about two in the Afternoon, the Cannon of the Beſiegers having begun to play, and batter the Place, the Garriſon immediately deſired to capitulate. Hoſtages being, hereupon, exchanged, it was agreed, that one of the Gates ſhould be delivered to the *Confederates*, in the Morning, and that the Garriſon, which inſiſted to go directly to *Namur*, ſhould march out, the thirty-firſt, in the Evening, with their Arms, Colours flying, Drums beating, and two ſmall Pieces of Cannon, and be conducted, by *Tongres*, *Vogelſanck*, and *Herenthal*, to *Antwerp*.

THE *Confederates* being thus become Maſters of the City of *Liege*, together with the Great Citadel, His Excellency, the Earl of *Marlborough* wrote the following Letter to the *States General*.

High

1702.

High and Mighty LORDS,

The Earl of Marlborough's *Letter to the* States General.

I *WRITE this to congratulate your* High and Mighty Lordſhips, *upon the happy Succeſs of the Arms of the Allies, who, notwithſtanding the great Number of the Soldiers in Garriſon, have taken the Citadel, this Evening, by Aſſault, with the greateſt Gallantry imaginable, and made the Governour, and thoſe who remained, Priſoners at Diſcretion. Monſieur* de Cohorn *is going this Moment to give Orders for carrying the Cannon on the other Side, in Order to attack the* Chartreuſe, *and make Uſe of this good Weather while it laſts. I cannot yet give your* High *and* Mightineſſes *the Particulars of this glorious Action, being not willing to ſtay the Courier, who is going to you with this News, longer than only to aſſure you, that I am with the greateſt Reſpect,*

High and Mighty LORDS,

At the Camp before *Liege, Oct.* 23d, 1702.

Your moſt humble, and Moſt obedient Servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

To which the *States* returned the following Anſwer:

1702.

My Lord,

The Answer of the States.

WE believe it would be ſuperfluous to [illegible] your Excellency, that the Good News wh[ich] you have been pleaſed to ſend Us, in your L[et]ter of the 23d Inſtant, was agreeable to U[s]. Since an Action ſo well laid, ſo vigorouſly e[x]cuted, and attended with that good and glorious Succeſs, cannot but be ſo in the Higheſt Degree; We likewiſe, on Our Part, Congratulate with you, ſince this great Action adds no leſs to the Glory of your Excellency, and to the Reputation of the Arms of the Allies *under your prudent Conduct, than it is advantageous to the Common Cauſe, and to Our State in particular. We wiſh your Excellency the ſame good Succeſs before the* Chartreuſe, *and in all your Enterprizes; and We deſire you will believe, that we are truly,*

Your Excellency's

At the *Hague*, *October* 26. 1702.

Moſt affectionate to ſerve you,

The *States General* of the *United Provinces* of the *Low Countries.*

The Earl of Marlb. *below'd by the Army, and reſpected by the* States.

WITH ſuch Succeſs, ended this proſperous Campaign, in which many Places were taken, with an inconſiderable Loſs of Time and Men. The Earl of *Marlborough*'s Conduct and Deportment had entirely gain'd him the Affection of the Army: The *States* were highly ſatisfy'd, as they had Reaſon to be, with all he

he had done; and what heightned the Honour he had gained the more was, the Earl of *Athlone* did him the Juſtice to confeſs, that the Succeſs was wholly owing to him; ſince he had differed in his Opinion from the Earl in every Thing, that was undertaken: This, indeed, is ſaying much to the Advantage of our *Hero*; But to compleat his Glory, I ſhall add one Obſervation more: When he came to take the Command of the Army, he found it flying before the Enemy; and hardly thought ſecure, tho' under the Cannon of a conſiderable Fortreſs: But no ſooner had he taken that Command, than the pale-fac'd Goddeſs, *Fear*, took up her Abode with the Enemy. They were as aſſiduous to avoid a Battle, as he to ſeek it; they even neglected Advantages they might have taken, and ſuffered him to undertake, and execute, juſt what he himſelf would. 1702.

A Medal ſtruck on the Succeſs of the Campaign.

THE Succeſs of this firſt Campaign, of Her Majeſty's Glorious Reign, occaſioned the Striking of a handſome Medal, according to the following Deſcription:

ON the *Face* is a Buſto of the Queen crowned, with Her uſual Title.

ON the *Reverſe*, a Town beſieged, and battered with Cannon and Mortars, with this *Motto*, VIRES. ANIMUMQUE. MINISTRAT. That is, *She gives Strength and Courage.*

IN the *Exergue*, CAPTIS. COLONIA. TRAJANA. VENLOA. RUREMUNDA. STEPHANVERDA. LEODIO. MDCCII. That is, *Keyſerſwaert*, *Venlo*, *Stevenſwaert*, and *Liege* taken, 1702.

The Confederate *Army ſeparates.*

THE third of *November*, N. S. the Confederate Army ſeparated near *Liege*, and ſo put an End to a Campaign, glorious beyond Expectation;

1702. pectation; which was, however, ſucceeded by an Accident, that had almoſt, at once, loſt the Advantages and Honour got in it. The Day the Army ſeparated, the Earl of *Marlborough* went to *Maeſtricht*, where, thinking it the eaſieſt and quickeſt, as well as the ſafeſt Way of returning to the *Hague*, he embarked, the very ſame Evening, on the *Maeſe* for *Holland*. He had a Detachment of 25 Soldiers, commanded by a Lieutenant, in the Boat with him, to ſerve as a Convoy. The next Morning he came to *Ruremond*, where he joined Monſ. *Cohorn*: And having dined with the Prince of *Holſtein-Beck*, Governour of that Place; they continued their Voyage together, having a Company of ſixty Men in a larger Boat, which went before theirs. There was likewiſe a Troop of fifty Horſe order'd, to ride along the Banks of the River, for his Excellency's Guard. About ſeven, that Evening, they came to *Venlo*, where the Party of Horſe being relieved, by a like Number, out of that Garriſon, they purſued their Way down the River. The great Boat, in which General *Cohorn* was, outſailed the other, and the Troopers on Shoar, miſtook their Way in the Night. The *French* had yet the Town of *Guelders* in their Hands, which was, indeed, the only Place they had left in *Spaniſh Guelderland*. A Party of five and thirty Men, from thence, was lurking on the Banks of the River, near three Leagues below *Venlo*, waiting for an Adventure; and the Company being all aſleep, they ſeized by Surprize, between eleven and twelve at Night, the Rope by which the Boat was drawn, and hauled it on Shoar. They immediately made a Diſcharge of their Small

The Earl of Marlb. *taken by a* French *Party*;

I Arms,

Arms, and threw ſeveral Grenadoes into the Boat, by which ſome of the Soldiers were wounded. This done, they enter'd and ſeiz'd the Boat, with all who were in it, before they could get in any Order to make an Oppoſition. 1702.

THUS had a ſmall Number of Men the Fortune to take that General Priſoner, whom the whole *French* Army had not the Courage to look in the Face, the whole Summer. With the Earl, were Monſ. *Obdam*, one of the *Dutch* Generals, and Monſ. *Gueldermalſen*, one of the Deputies of the *States General*. They did not know the Earl, but the other two they knew; Who both had Paſſes, according to a Civility, uſually practiſed by the Generals, on both Sides. The Earl of *Marlborough*'s Brother had one; But, his ill State of Health having made him leave the Campaign, it remained in the Hands of his Secretary, and now ſerved the Earl. The Date, indeed, was expired; But the Calmneſs, and wonderful Preſence of Mind, with which he produced it, together with the Hurry they were in, and the Night, happily prevented that from being diſcovered. They, therefore, only rifled the Boat, ſearched the Trunks and Baggage, emptied them of what Plate and Things of Value they found, and took Preſents from thoſe whom they believed to be protected by their Paſſes; And, then, after having ſtop'd them ſeveral Hours, and taken his Excellency's Guard of Foot Priſoners, letting them go, they happily eſcaped the Danger.

But gets out of their Hands again.

THE Governor of *Venlo* having early Notice, that his Excellency was taken; But not being informed of the Circumſtances which followed, preſumed he was carried Priſoner to *Guelders*:

1702. He, therefore, marched out immediately, with his whole Garriſon, to inveſt that Place. The News of it coming, likewiſe, to *the Hague*, in the ſame imperfect Manner, put the *States* under no ſmall Conſternation. They immediately aſſembled, and reſolved to ſend Orders to all their Forces, to march immediately to *Guelders*, to threaten the Garriſon with the utmoſt Extremities, unleſs they ſhould deliver the Priſoners, and never to leave the Place, 'till either they had taken it, or the Generals were ſet free. But, before theſe Orders could be diſpatch'd, the Earl of *Marlborough* came to the *Hague*, where he was received with inexpreſſible Joy, not only by the *States*, but by the Inhabitants, who begun to look upon him as their Guardian Angel, and upon that Occaſion, ſo crouded the Streets, to give his Excellency a hearty Welcome, that it was not without great Difficulty, he could get thro' them to his Lodgings, to ſuch a Degree was he beloved, and of ſo high Eſteem was the Name of *Marlborough*, with People of every Condition.

Conſternation of the Dutch, *on this Occaſion;*

Removed by his Arrival at the Hague.

THE Grand Penſionary *Heinſius*, when he complimented him, in the Name of the *States*, on his happy Eſcape, ſaid: *That his Captivity had well nigh enſlaved, not only their Provinces, but put it in the Power of* France, *to have extended her uncontroulable Dominion over all* Europe, *by detaining his Perſon, whom they could not but look upon as deſtined by* PROVIDENCE, *to be it's Inſtrument, in aſcertaining the Liberty of the better Part of the* Chriſtian *World.* To which his Excellency made the following modeſt Anſwer; *That he ſhould always take Pride in being ſerviceable to the Common Cauſe, and Their* High Mightineſſes *in particular: But he thought*

The Grand Penſionary's Compliment to the Earl.

His modeſt Anſwer.

1702.

thought what had been applied to him, in Juſtice, belonged to the Queen, his Miſtreſs, who, by God's *Aſſiſtance, might be the Inſtrument of the Divine Will; But, as for his Part, it was Glory ſufficient for him, to be her Majeſty's Agent.*

To keep up the Connexion of my Hiſtory, it will be neceſſary, before I mention the Earl's Return to *England*, juſt to hint at what had paſs'd, during this Campaign, in ſeveral other Parts of *Europe*; Without a Knowledge of which, the Reader may not be able ſo well to account for ſome Things which follow.

Affairs of the Empire.

I MENTIONED above, that the Siege of *Landau* had been undertaken by the *Imperialiſts*, and that very ſtrong and important Place obliged to ſurrender, after a Siege of almoſt three Months: But, to counterbalance this Advantage, a few Days before that Place ſurrendered, the *Elector* of *Bavaria*, who had been a long Time ſuſpected by the *Allies*, of being in the Intereſt of *France*, ſurprized and took *Ulm*, a large and ſtrong *Imperial* City, the Capital of the Circle of *Suabia*; This City, which is rich and populous, as well as large and ſtrong, is adorn'd with many ſtately Edifices, and particularly with a Cathedral, reckon'd the fineſt in *Germany*. It ſtands on the Rivers *Danube* and *Iller*, near forty Miles *Weſt* of *Augſburg*, about fifty almoſt *South-Eaſt* of *Studgard*, and near ſixty almoſt *North-Eaſt* of *Conſtance*. The *Elector* being thus poſſeſs'd of this important Place, declared openly againſt the *Confederates*, threatned the Circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia*, in Caſe they did not obſerve an exact Neutrality, and, by his Actions and Declarations, ſtruck Terror and Amazement, throughout the whole *Empire*. However, by the Dili-

The Elector *of* Bavaria *ſeizes* Ulm, *&c.*

1702. gence and Valour of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, and the other *Imperial* Generals, especially at the bloody and unequal Battle of *Fridlingen*, where the *French* were routed, all the Endeavours of the *French* and *Bavarians*, to join each other, were frustrated, for this Winter, and the *French* obliged to pass the *Rhine*. I think it the more necessary to mention this Event, as being the Forerunner of one of the greatest Scenes of Action, which will, in the Sequel, be recorded in this History.

The Empire *declares War against the* Fr. *King, and the D.* d'Anjou.

THE Diet of the *Empire* was so insens'd at the Treachery of the *Elector* of *Bavaria*, in seizing *Ulm*, that, after a warm Debate thereupon, it was resolved by a Plurality of Voices, to declare War against the *French* King, and the Duke *d'Anjou*, which was done accordingly; And a Memorial was order'd to be drawn up, requesting his *Imperial* Majesty, to proceed against the *Elector*, according to the Constitutions of the *Empire*. The Ministers of the *Elector* of *Bavaria* and *Cologn* were, hereupon, forbid appearing any more in the General Diet; Notwithstanding which, the *Elector* of *Bavaria* protested against these Proceedings of the Diet, and particularly against their Declaration of War; But no Regard was had to his Protest; And for the *Empire*'s Declaration of War, it was publish'd and notified to the Cardinal of *Lamberg*, the *Emperour*'s Commissioner, on the 30th of *September*, N. S. by the Direction of the *Elector* of *Mentz*, in the Name of the Diet of *Ratisbon*.

TOWARDS the latter End of the Year, Count *Tallard* took the strong Castle of *Traerbach*, upon the River *Mosel*, after a stout Resistance; And, on the other Side, the hereditary Prince

of

of Heſſe-Caſſel took *Zinch*, *Lintz*, *Brizich* and *Audernach*, all ſmall Places which the *French* had poſſeſs'd themſelves of upon the *Rhine*. Thus ſtood Matters, at this Time, in *Germany*. 1702.

Affairs in Italy.

IN *Italy* was, this Year, fought the fierce and bloody Battle of *Luzzara*, near which Place, Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* attack'd, with 25,000 Men, the Army of the *French* and *Spaniards*, which conſiſted of about 40,000, commanded by King *Philip* of *Spain*, in Perſon, and the Duke *de Vendome*, but without any great Advantage on either Side; Tho' Prince *Eugene* did far more, than could be expected from him, all Circumſtances conſidered. Some Accounts, however, give the Prince the Victory, and ſay the *French* were defeated. The Truth is, Night put an End to the Engagement, and the *French* thought fit to retreat, under Favour of it. The *French* and *Spaniards*, being much more numerous, diſlodged the *Germans*, afterwards, at Times, from ſeveral ſmall Places, Prince *Eugene* being ſtrangely neglected by the Court of *Vienna*: Which was all that paſſed, on that Side, worthy of a general Remark.

Apprehenſions of the Queen's aiming at the Royal Dignity for the Prince.

THE Earl of *Marlborough* was look'd upon, from the very Beginning of Her Majeſty's Reign, both at Home and abroad, as the chief Favorite, and deſign'd Head of Affairs, as well in the Army, as in the Council, or in the latter, to have, at leaſt, the greateſt Influence. It would be ſuperfluous, to give any Inſtances of this being the general Opinion at Home, I ſhall, therefore, confine my ſelf to one from abroad.

IT was very much apprehended, at the *Hague*, and the Proteſtant Courts of *Germany*, and

1702. and eſpecially that of *Hannover*, that Her Majeſty had a Deſign of propoſing to Her Parliament the Royal Dignity, for the Prince of *Denmark*. Monſ. *d'Allonne*, then at the *Hague*, in a Letter of the eight and twentieth of *October*, to a Perſon very much in the late King's Favour, at *Hannover*, has the following Words: *Je vois, par vôtre precedente Lettre, Monſ. du 19, que la Cour d'Hannovre n'a point trouvé de Difficulté à menager juſqu' à cet heure celle d'Angleterre, mais qu'elle ſe trouvera dans un grand embarras, ſi la Reine propoſe, en Parlement, la Royauté du Prince, et qu'alors Elle ne pourra pas ſe reſoudre à paſſer ſous Silence une pareille atteinte à ſon droit. Cela ſeroit aſſurement facheux, et il y a même grand Apparence que cela arrivera, ſi l'on en peut croire tout le Parti* Tory, *qui ne le diſſimule aucunement: Et, en ce cas, il ne ſeroit pas étonnant, que vous parlaſſiès, &c.* (That is, " I ſee, by your former Letter, Sir, of the 19th, that the Court of *Hannover* has found no great Difficulty, to keep up a good Intelligence, hitherto, with that of *England*; But that it would cauſe a very great Uneaſineſs there, if the Queen ſhould propoſe to the *Parliament*, the Royal Dignity, for the Prince, and that your Court could not then reſolve to paſs by an Attempt ſo prejudicial to their Right, in Silence. It would, indeed, be very diſagreable, and it ſeems very probable, that there is ſuch a Deſign, on the Carpet, if we may give Credit to the whole *Tory*-Party, who are far from ſeeking to conceal it. In this Caſe, it would not be thought ſtrange, if your Court ſhould begin to open their Mind, &c.") Monſ. *d'Allonne* then goes on,

Extract of a Letter from Monſ. d'Allonne, *at the* Hague, *to Monſ.* * * * *at* Hannover.

on, to give his Opinion, when, and in what Manner, it might be proper for the Court of *Hannover* to open their Mind, with what he thought might be alledg'd, and propos'd on this Occaſion: And then adds, *Il faut ſonger qu'il n'y a point du tems à perdre, & que le menageant bien, l'on pourra encore s'en aider avant l'Ouverture du Parlement, & même en faire parler icy à* My Lord Marlborough, *par Monſ.* de Bothmar, *d'un air de Confiance, par Rapport à ſes droites Intentions, &, en même tems, d'un Ton honnêtement ferme à l'égard du Sujet.* (That is, "You muſt conſider, there is no "Time to loſe, and that, by improving it, "ſome Advantage may be made before the "Opening of the *Parliament*, and Monſ. *de* "*Bothmar* may ſpeak to my Lord *Marlbo-*"*rough* here, with an Air of Confidence in "him, as far as regards his Upright Intentions, and, at the ſame Time, in a decent Strain of unſhaken Reſolution, with Reſpect to the Subject".) In the Poſtcript, Monſ. *d'Alonne* adds, *En parlant à My Lord* Marlborough *de cette Affaire, & aux Miniſtres de* Londres, *il ne ſera pas difficile de menager toûjours delicatement la Perſonne de la Reine, en faiſant ſemblant que l'on ne croit pas, que c'eſt le deſſein de ſa Majeſté, mais bien celui d'un parti conſiderable, qui le veut a mauvais deſſein, Sa Majeſté étant trop juſte à pouvoir penſer, moins encore de vouloir rien au prejudice du plus proche Succeſſeur.* (That is, "In ſpeak-"ing of this Matter to My Lord *Marlbo-*"*rough*, and to the Miniſters at *London*, it will "be no difficult Matter always to ſhew the "moſt tender Regard for the Queen's Perſon, "by appearing not to believe this to be a De-"ſign

1702.

Regard had to the Earl of Marlborough's *Influence in this Reſpect.*

1702. "sign of Her Majesty's, but of a Co[illegible]der-
"able Party, who desire it for no good End;
"Her Majesty being too just, but to think,
"much less to intend, any Thing, to the
"Prejudice of Her immediate Successor.

The Apprehensions appear to be without Grounds.

THUS we see what was thought abroad of the Influence our *Hero* might have, in an Affair of so great Importance: But all this Precaution was probably unnecessary; The Matter was never propos'd, and perhaps never thought of. Monsr. *d'Allonne* was likewise mistaken, as to what he advis'd to be done before the Opening of the *Parliament*; For it was opened two Days after the Date of that Letter; As he acknowledged in another Letter, to the same Person, of the fourth of *November*, N. S. And nothing of that Nature, as I have already observed, being proposed, or so much as hinted at, either in the Queen's Speech, or otherwise, by any Member of either House, these Apprehensions were entirely dissipated, as Monsr. *d'Allonne*, in another Letter, to the Gentleman, of the eleventh of *November*, N. S. allows they were ill-grounded, and adds, that a Person of very good Knowledge and Intelligence had, among other Things, wrote him these Words: *We are not much in Pain, for any Attack that may be intended by some Persons, upon the Bill of Succession.*

The Earl of Marlb. *returns to* England.

I RETURN now to the Earl of *Marlborough*, who having finished his Negociations at the *Hague*, and concerted Matters with the Deputies of the *States*, for the Operations of the future Campaign, departed thence, and arrived at *London*, the eight and twentieth of *November*.

BEFORE

BEFORE his Return, the new *Parliament* met the twentieth of *October*, and, three Days after, the *Houſe of Lords* waited on her Majeſty with Their Addreſs, wherein *They congratulated the Proſperous and Glorious Succeſs, with which it had pleaſed* GOD *to bleſs Her Majeſty's Arms, in Conjunction with Her* Allies, *under the Command of the Earl of* Marlborough. And the *Houſe of Commons*, in their Addreſs, which they preſented a few Days after, had the following remarkable Paragraph: *This Misfortune* (*viz.* the Diſappointment at *Cadiz*) *cannot make us forget, That the Protection and Security of our Trade, the vigorous Support of Your Majeſty's* Allies, *and* " *the wonderful Progreſs of* " *Your Majeſty's Arms, under the Conduct of* " *the Earl of* Marlborough, *have ſignally* retrieved *the ancient Honour and Glory of the* Engliſh *Nation.* 1702.

The Houſe of Lords congratulate her Majeſty, on his Succeſs.

A remarkable Paragraph in the Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons.

THE fourth of *November*, Mr. Secretary *Hedges*, by her Majeſty's Command, acquainted the *Houſe of Commons, That her Majeſty had appointed* Thurſday, *the twelfth of the ſame Month, to be obſerved in* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and the Places adjacent, as a Day of Publick Thankſgiving to* ALMIGHTY GOD, *on Occaſion of the great Succeſſes of Her Majeſty's Arms, and thoſe of Her* Allies, *and particularly that of Her Troops, under the Conduct of the Earl of* Marlborough, &c. *and that Her Majeſty would be pleaſed to go that Day to St.* Paul's *Church.* Whither the Houſe reſolve to attend Her.

A Thankſgiving appointed for the Succeſs of Her Majeſty's Arms under the Earl of Marlborough, &c.

THE appointed Day being come, Her Majeſty went, accordingly, to St. *Paul*'s, in great State, attended by *Both Houſes of Parliament*; And the Publick Demonſtrations, given by the Inhabitants

The Queen goes to St. Paul's.

1702. Inhabitants of *London* and *Weſtminſter* were ſuitable to ſo great and ſolemn an Occaſion.

THERE was a Pyramidal Illumination hung up at *Ludgate*, and the following Inſcription affix'd to one Side of the Gate:

An Inſcription affix'd on one Side of Ludgate.

ANNA
Britanniæ Magnæ Regina,
Et conjux vere illuſtris,
GEORGIUS
Daniæ Princeps;
Nec non inclyti Heroës,
Tyranni Gallici Debellatores,
Jacobus Dux ORMOND,
Joannes Comes MARLBOROUGH,
Georgius ROOK *Miles,*
Claſſis Triumphantis Præfectus,
Vivant & Floreant.

As threatning *Spain* did to *Eliza* bow;
So *France* and *Spain* ſhall do to ANNA now:
France that protects falſe Claims t' another Throne,
Shall find enough to do to keep her own.

The Earl of Marlborough *receives the Thanks of the* Houſe of Commons.

The thirtieth of *November*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, Comptroller of her Majeſty's Houſhold, reported to the *Houſe of Commons*, that the Committee appointed by the *Houſe*, had attended the Earl of *Marlborough* with their Thanks, for the Great and ſignal Services, by him performed for this Nation, and that, thereupon, his Lordſhip had expreſs'd himſelf to the following Effect: viz, *That nothing could add to the Satisfaction he took in the Queen's moſt Gracious Acceptance of his hearty and ſincere Endeavours for the Publick Service, but the obliging and favourable*

His Anſwer.

1702.

able Senſe which that Houſe was pleas'd to expreſs of them, of which Honour, no Man could be more truly ſenſible than himſelf. That our Succeſs was chiefly to be imputed to GOD's *Bleſſing upon Her Majeſty's happy Conduct, and the great Bravery of her own Troops, and thoſe of Her Allies.*

UPON the 2d of *December*, the Queen (to ſhew what a Senſe ſhe had of the Earl of *Marlborough*'s Services) was pleaſed to declare, before a Committee of Council, *That ſhe was ſo ſatisfied of the eminent Services of my Lord* Marlborough *to the Publick, and to Herſelf, both in the Command of the Army, and the entire Confidence he Had ſettled between Her and the* States General, *that She intended to make him a Duke:* Which She did, accordingly, by the Title of Marquis of *Blandford* and Duke of *Marlborough*; And his Grace was, likewiſe, this Year, appointed one of the Commiſſioners for treating of a Union with *Scotland*. On the 10th, her Majeſty ſent the following Meſſage to the *Commons*, in his Lordſhip's Favour.

The Earl of Marlborough *made a Duke:*

And one of the Commiſſioners for treating of an Union.

ANNE R.

THE Earl of Marlborough's *Services to Her Majeſty, and to the Publick, have been ſo eminent, both in his Command of the Army, and in his having eſtabliſhed an entire Confidence, and good Correſpondence, between Her Majeſty, and the* States General, *that She has thought fit to grant the Title of a Duke of this Kingdom to him, and to the Heirs Male of his Body, and alſo a Penſion of* 5000 *Pounds* per Ann. *upon the Revenue of the Poſt Office, for the Support of this Honour, during Her Majeſty's Natural Life. If it had been in Her Majeſty's Power, She would have granted the ſame Term in the Penſion,*

The Queen's Meſſage to the Commons in his Favour.

1702. *ſion, as in the Honour, and She hopes They will think it ſo reaſonable, in this Caſe, as to find ſome proper Methods of doing it.*

Debates thereupon. THIS Meſſage having occaſioned great Debates in the *Houſe*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, as ſoon as he was informed thereof, waited on Her Majeſty, and *pray'd Her, rather to forego Her gracious Meſſage, on his Behalf, than to create any Uneaſineſs on his Account; Since it might embarraſs Her Affairs, and be of ill Conſequence to the Publick:* And there being no Likelyhood, that the Commons would comply with Her Majeſty's Deſire, the fifteenth, She ſent them another Meſſage, whereby She acquainted them, *That the Duke of* Marlborough *had declined Her Majeſty's Meſſage to them.* Nevertheleſs, the *Commons* being in a Grand Committee, the Motion was made, the ſame Day, That an Addreſs be preſented to Her Majeſty, ſetting forth the Reaſons why they could not comply with Her Majeſty's firſt Meſſage. The Motion was agreed to, on the ſixteenth, and a Committee appointed to draw up the Addreſs, which was as follows:

The Duke deſires the Queen to forego Her Meſſage.

A ſecond Meſſage.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

The Commons Addreſs to the Queen.

"WE Your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the *Commons*, in *Parliament* aſſembled, humbly beg Leave to declare our unanimous Satisfaction in the juſt Eſteem your Majeſty has been pleaſed to expreſs, of the eminent Services, performed by the Duke of *Marlborough*, who has, not only by his Conduct of the Army, *retriev'd* the ancient Honour and Glory of the *Engliſh*

" *like* Nation, but, by his Negociations, eſta- 1702.
" bliſh'd an entire Confidence and good Cor-
" reſpondence between Your Majeſty, and the
" *States General*, and therein vindicated the
" Gentlemen of *England*, who had, by the
" vile Practices of deſigning Men, been tra-
" duced, and induſtriouſly repreſented, as *falſe*
" to Your Majeſty's *Allies*, becauſe they were
" *true* to the Intereſt of their Country.

" IT is to their unexpreſſible Grief, that
" Your Majeſty's moſt dutiful *Commons* find
" any Inſtances where they are unable to com-
" ply with what Your Majeſty propoſes to
" them; But they beg Leave humbly to lay
" before Your Majeſty, the Apprehenſions
" they have of making a Precedent, for the
" Alienations of the Revenue of the *Crown*,
" which has been ſo much reduced by the *Ex-*
" *orbitant Grants* of the laſt Reign, and which
" has been ſo lately ſettled and ſecured, by Your
" Majeſty's unparallel'd Grace and Goodneſs.

" WE are infinitely pleaſed to obſerve, by
" Your Majeſty's late Gracious Acceptance of
" the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Services, that the
" only way to obtain Your Majeſty's Favour,
" is to deſerve well from the Publick; and we
" beg Leave to aſſure Your Majeſty, that when-
" ever You ſhall think fit to reward ſuch Merit,
" it will be to the entire Satisfaction of Your
" People.

THIS Addreſs being preſented to the Queen, the twenty-firſt of *December*, by the whole *Houſe*, Her Majeſty was pleaſed to return this Anſwer.

The Queen's Anſwer.

I SHALL *always think myſelf much concerned to reward thoſe who deſerve well of me, and of the Publick. On this Account I beſtowed ſome Favours on the Duke of* Marlborough, *and I am glad to find you think they are well placed.*

CHAP. III.

TARNSACTIONS *in* 1703, *'till the Battle of* Eckeren.

1703. THE *Houſe of Commons* agreed to all the Demands of the Court, with great Unanimity and Diſpatch, and voted all the Supplies which were neceſſary for carrying on the War. Upon the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Return, a new Demand for an additional Force was made, ſince the King of *France* had given out Commiſſions, for a great Encreaſe of his Armies: And thereupon, the *States* moved the Queen, for ten Thouſand Men more. This was conſented to; but with a Condition, which however reaſonable it might be in itſelf; yet the Manner in which it was manag'd, ſhewed (ſays a late Author) a very ill Diſpoſition towards the *Dutch*, and, in the Debate (*continue he*) they were treated very indecently. It was inſiſted on (*and ſome thought very juſtly*) that before the Pay of theſe new Troops ſhould begin, the *States* ſhould prohibit all Trade with *France*, and break off all Correſpondence with that Kingdom. Our Author owns, it was true, that *France* could not have ſupplied their Armies in *Italy*, but by the Means of this ſecret Trade, ſo it was reaſonable to break it; but he thought the impoſing it on the *Dutch*, in the Manner in which this was preſſed, carried in it too high a Strain of Authority over them. I muſt beg leave to diſſent from this Author. It was a Favour they deſired of us; and, in Return, we inſiſted on no more, than what we had a Right to demand, even without this

The Supplies for carrying on the War readily granted.

An Augmentation of our Forces required by the Dutch:

And granted with a Condition.

A late Author's Opinion of this Matter,

Refuted.

this Conſideration; Where then is the Hardſhip? The Argument this Author makes uſe of in their Favour, *viz. That their Country ſubſiſted by their Trade*, will hold as good with Regard to our Nation. The *States*, however, reſolved to comply with *England*, in every Thing; and tho' (*as the ſame Author ſays*) they did not like the Manner of demanding this, yet they readily conſented to it. 1703.

THE Matter was tranſacted, in *Parliament*, in the following Manner: The fourth of *January*, the Queen ſent the following Meſſage to the *Houſe of Commons*:

ANN R.

The Queen's Meſſage to the H. of Commons *on this Occaſion.*

" HER Majeſty having received ſeveral " Letters from the *States General* of the " *United Provinces*, as alſo ſeveral Memorials " from Their Ambaſſadours, ſetting forth the " great Apprehenſions They ly under, from " the extraordinary Preparations of *France*, to " attack them early in the Spring, and the " Neceſſity, as they conceived, of making an " Augmentation of the Forces, in *England* " and *Holland*, as the only Means to pre- " vent the immediate Ruin which threatned " Their Country, was pleaſed, thereupon, to " propoſe ſome Expedient to the *States Gene-* " *ral*, which She hoped might have been of " Advantage to the common Intereſt, and " relieved Them, in ſome Meaſure, from " Their juſt Apprehenſions, without having " Recourſe to *Parliament*. But theſe Expe- " dients, propoſed by Her Majeſty, to the " *States General*, not having produced the " Effect She hoped for, and the *States* having

1703. " again renewed Their Applications to Her " Majeſty, with more Earneſtneſs than before, " to aſſiſt them, in this Time of Their Dan- " ger, with an Augmentation of Her Forces, " as the only Means to diſappoint the Effect " of thoſe great and early Preparations, which " the *French* are making againſt them: Her " Majeſty has commanded the ſeveral Letters " and Repreſentations which have paſſed be- " tween Her, and the *States General*, upon " this Subject, to be herewith tranſmitted to " You, that You may the better judge of the " Danger which threatens them.

" Her Majeſty conceives this Matter to be " of ſuch great Conſequence, as indiſpenſably " obliges Her to acquaint You with the pre- " ſent State of it, that She may have Your " Advice upon it; not doubting but You will " take ſuch Meaſures, upon this Occaſion, as " may be moſt for the Honour and Advan- " tage of Her Majeſty, the Safety of H[illegible] " Kingdoms, and the neceſſary Support [illegible] " Her Allies.

The *Commons* having taken Her Majeſty's Meſſage into Conſideration, the next Day, agreed, that 10,000 Foreigners be hired, for an Augmentation of the Forces, to act in Conjunction with the *Allies*; But upon Condition, that an immediate Stop be put to all Commerce and Correſpondence with *France* and *Spain*, which they reſolved to lay before the Queen, in the following Addreſs.

Moſt

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Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

The Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons *in Anſwer to it.*

" WE Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the *Commons*, in *Parliament* aſſembled, do beg Leave to return Your Majeſty our humble Thanks, for Your Majeſty's moſt gracious Condeſcenſion, in communicating to Your *Commons* the ſeveral Memorials, Tranſactions, and Letters, that have paſſed between Your Majeſty and the *States General*, for the Augmentation of Your Majeſty's Forces, which are to act in Conjunction with the Forces of the *States General*; By all which *Your Commons* are entirely convinced of Your Majeſty's great Tenderneſs of Your Subjects, in not laying a greater Burden upon them, than the Neceſſity of Affairs does abſolutely require.

" And Your *Commons* do humbly aſſure Your Majeſty, that in Caſe Your Majeſty ſhould think it neceſſary to enter into any farther Negociation, for Encreaſing the Forces, which are to act in Conjunction with the Forces of the *States General* (for whoſe Intereſt and Preſervation, we ſhall always have the greateſt Regard) Your *Commons* will enable Your Majeſty to make good the ſame.

" And Your *Commons* do farther crave Leave, humbly to beſeech Your Majeſty, That You will pleaſe to inſiſt upon it, with the *States General*, that there be an immediate Stop of all Poſts, and of all Letters, Bills, and other Correſpondence, Trade, and Commerce with *France* and *Spain*, which Your *Commons* are humbly of

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" rying on the juſt and neceſſary War where-
" in Your Majeſty is engag'd, to the Inter-
" rupting the Trade of Your Enemies, and
" Reducing them to the greateſt Streights,
" that Your *Commons* do humbly deſire, That
" *England* may not be charged with the Pay
" of ſuch additional Troops, but from the
" Day, when ſuch Stop ſhall be made by the
" *States General.*

THIS Addreſs having been preſented to the Queen by the whole Houſe, the eighth of *January*, Her Majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer:

GENTLEMEN,

The Queen's Anſwer. *IT is with great Satisfaction, that I receive this Addreſs, which enables me to join with the* States General, *in augmenting our Forces, according to their Deſire.*

I MAKE *no Doubt, but the Condition you mention will be approved, ſince it is abſolutely neceſſary for the Good of the whole* Alliance; *And I ſhall, this Night, ſend Directions to my Miniſters in* Holland, *to concur with the* States, *in providing the Troops accordingly.*

The Lords Addreſs on the ſame Occaſion. THE ſame Papers having been laid, by Her Majeſty's Commands, before the *Houſe of Lords*, the thirteenth, Their Lordſhip's preſented an Addreſs to the Queen, in which They returned Her Majeſty Thanks for communicating the ſeveral Letters and Memorials of the *States General* to that *Houſe*; *Adding*, " That having
" taken Notice how much Time had been al-
" ready ſpent in this Negociation, and with
" what

" what repeated and preſſing Inſtances the *States General* had repreſented the Appre-
" henſions they were under, from the extra-
" ordinary and forward Preparations of the
" *French*, The *Lords* took Leave, humbly to
" adviſe Her Majeſty, That without any far-
" ther Loſs of Time, She would be pleaſed
" to agree to the Propoſals made to Her Ma-
" jeſty, by the *States General*, for ſuch an
" Augmentation of Forces, as might diſap-
" point the great and early Preparations of
" *France*, and effectually ſupport and defend
" the common Cauſe; And They, farther,
" humbly acquainted Her Majeſty, That it
" was the Opinion of that *Houſe*, That Her
" Majeſty's Furniſhing Her *Quota* of the Aug-
" mentation of Troops in the *Low-Countries*,
" would be ineffectual, unleſs all Correſpond-
" ence with *France* and *Spain*, by Letters, or
" otherwiſe, be totally prohibited by the *States*
" *General*, and all other Her Majeſty's Al-
" lies".

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HER Majeſty's Anſwer to this Addreſs was:

THAT no Time ſhould be loſt, in Relation to the Augmentation of Troops, and the Prohibition of the Commerce by Letters, recommended in this Addreſs.

The Queen's Anſwer.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the above Author has ſaid to make this Proceeding appear too harſh and ill-natured, with Regard to the *Dutch*, the *Parliament* had certainly very cogent and juſtifiable Reaſons for it. Among other Motives which induced that Illuſtrious Body to inſiſt ſo vehemently on this Prohibition, the Chief may

Reaſons for inſiſting on this Prohibition.

1703. probably have been, the great Difficulty the Court of *France* labour'd under, at this Time, to make Remittances of Mony, to maintain their Army in *Italy*, and to ſend Subſidies to the Elector of *Bavaria* in *Germany*; Which the *Parliament* of *England* (and indeed every Body elſe) juſtly preſumed, the *French* could not do, without the Aſſiſtance of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Merchants. This Opinion was, likewiſe, confirmed, by a late Diſcovery made by the Earl of *Nottingham*, one of Her Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, of an unlawful Intercourſe of Bills of Exchange, between ſome *French* Bankers at *Paris*, and ſome Citizens of *London*.

Death of the Marquis of Blandford.

BUT to return to the Duke of *Marlborough*; While His Grace was buſied, with his uſual Application, in making the neceſſary Preparations for Opening the Campaign, he had a very pungent Domeſtick Affliction to encounter with. I mean the Loſs of his only Son, the Marquis of *Blandford*, a promiſing Youth, of eighteen Years of Age, graceful in Perſon, affable in Temper, and of excellent Natural Parts. He died, the twentieth of *February*, of the Small-Pox, at *Cambridge*, to the inexpreſſible Grief of his Illuſtrious Parents and Relations, and indeed the Loſs of the whole Nation; Since, in him, we had Reaſon to hope we might ſee thoſe Moral, Political and Military Virtues continued, which ſhone in ſo eminent a Degree, in his Great Father. This Misfortune happening juſt as his Grace was upon his Departure for *Holland*, put a Stop, as we may reaſonably imagine, to his Croſſing the Seas, for ſome Days, longer than he intended. How-

ever,

ver, nothing was neglected, in the mean Time, on the other Side. 1703.

RHINEBURG, which had been block'd up by Count *Lottum* (General of the *Pruſſian* Troops) ſurrender'd by Capitulation, the ninth of *February*; After which that Count block'd up *Guelders*. Rhineburg *taken.*

THE Duke of *Marlborough* arrived at the *Hague*, the ſeventeenth of *March*, N. S. and was met there by Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*, the Generals *Dopf* and *Cohorn*, Lord *Paget*, and ſeveral Foreign Miniſters; And, the next Day, all the General Officers dined with him. The twenty-ſeventh, he ſet out from thence, in Order to review the *Engliſh* Forces, in their reſpective Garriſons, and order'd the Troops near *Liege*, to be immediately in a Readineſs to take the Field, and alſo diſpatch'd General *Coborn*, to make all Preparations for Opening the Campaign, with a Siege. The ſecond of *April*, his Grace returned to the *Hague*, and having held ſome Conferences with the Deputies of the *States*, he went from thence again, the ninth, to *Nimeguen*, where he met General *Cohorn*, and the 11th, ſet out for *Venlo*. The next Day he paſs'd thro' *Ruremond*, *Stevenſwaert* and *Maeſeyck* to *Maeſtricht*; And was received, in every Place, with the Reſpect due to his Rank, the Garriſons being drawn out, and Cannons diſcharged. The 14th, he viſited *Liege*, and had a Conference with Count *Sinzendorf*, the Governour; And from thence returned again to *Maeſtricht*, having given the neceſſary Orders every where.

UPON his Grace's Arrival, the *Dutch* immediately brought their Armies into the Field, and, by his prudent Management, the *Confederates* *The Duke of* Marlb. *arrives in* Holland.

1703. *Opens the Campaign.*

rates were enabled to open the Campaign early, with the Siege of *Bonn*, a very antient, ſtrong City, in the Circle of the *Lower-Rhine*, and Archbiſhoprick of *Cologn*, formerly an Imperial City, but now Subject to the *Elector* of *Cologn*, and uſually the Reſidence of that Prince, who had put that, with the Reſt of his Dominions, into the Hands of the *French*, at the Beginning of the War. It is ſituate on the River *Rhine*, 14 Miles almoſt *South* of *Cologn*, 24 *South-Eaſt* of *Juliers*, 55 almoſt *North-Eaſt* of *Triers*, and 60 *North-Weſt* of *Mentz*. It was antiently a *Roman* Colony, call'd *Colonia Julia Bonna*.

His great Care to have the Troops in good Order.

Tho' the Duke had been detain'd, as I have obſerv'd, longer in *England*, than he expected; Yet he had not been backward, even during that Time, to preſs thoſe Foreign Princes, who had Troops in our Pay, to take Care they might ſpeedily be in a Condition to do Service; Of which, among many, I ſhall give only one Inſtance:

Extract of a Letter from Monſ. d'Alonne *to Monſ.* ** *at* Zell.

Mons. d'Alonne, in a Letter to Mon* * * at *Zell*, of the four and twentieth of *March*, wrote him, that the Duke of *Marlborough* had given him Orders to complain, of the bad Condition of the Troops of *Zell*, in *Engliſh* Pay, inſomuch that they were not able to aſſiſt at the Siege of *Bonn*; Which was a great Uneaſineſs to his Grace; Becauſe he fear-ed, he ſhould be obliged to abandon the Siege, on that Account, at a Time when ſuch a Diverſion was highly neceſſary.

The Enemy's Projects fruſtrated.

This early Care of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s, to put the *Confederate* Army in a Condition to act offenſively, broke all the Projects laid by the Enemy, who deſign'd to have acted,

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ceed, on their Side, offenſively, and to have open'd the Campaign, the 29th of *April*, with the Siege of *Liege*, for which they had actually provided 15,000 Pioneers, 3,000 Waggons, and other Neceſſaries; Not dreaming that the *Confederates* would be ſo early ready to oppoſe them. According to the Marquis *de Quincy*'s Account, and Order of Battle, the *French* Army then conſiſted of 54 Battalions, and 103 Squadrons, beſides a Flying Camp of 6 Battalions and 11 Squadrons, under Prince *Tſerclaes de Tilly*, 20 Battalions under the Command of the Marquis *de Bedmar*, and another Flying Camp under the Count *de la Motte*, of which he does not mention the Number. The ſame Author, likewiſe obſerves, that they had 40 Battalions in Garriſon, in *Guelderland* and *Flanders*; And that the two Crowns had then, in *Flanders*, 180 Battalions of Foot, 40 of which were *Spaniards*.

Force of the French *Army in* Flanders.

ALL neceſſary Preparations, for the expeditious carrying on of the Siege of *Bonn*, being made, the Duke ordered that Place to be inveſted, the four and twentieth of *April*, by the *Pruſſian* and *Lunenburg* Cavalry, under Lieutenant-General *Bulau*. The next Day, his Grace went to *Cologn*, whilſt the Infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Fagel*, was drawing up to the Camp. The ſix and twentieth, Lieutenant-General *Coborn* arrived, by Water, with the Veſſels and Pontons, and, thereupon, a Bridge was immediately laid over the *Rhine*, at *Rhineſdorff*, from which Place the Camp of the Beſiegers extended as far as *Kruitſberg*.

Bonn *inveſted*;

AFTER ſome Conſultations among the Generals, upon the Duke's Return from *Cologn*, the

And beſieged.

1703. the Town was ordered to be attack'd in three Places. The Duke himſelf gave the Direction for marking out the Quarters for the ſeveral Troops; and form'd a Plan for the three Attacks. The firſt was againſt the Fort, on the other Side of the *Rhine*, and the other two againſt the City, and the Out-works that ſecured it. The firſt of theſe Attacks was commanded by Lieutenant-General *Cohorn*, having under him the Major-Generals *Freiſheim*, and *Erbervelt*, with Monſ. *La Rocque* for Chief Engineer; The ſecond, by the Hereditary Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, having under him, the Prince of *Anhalt-Zerbſt*, and Monſ. *Tettau*, with Monſ. *Hazard*, as chief Engineer; and, the third, by Lieutenant-General *Fagel*, with whom were joined the Major-Generals *Dedem*, and *St. Paul*, with Colonel *Reinchard*, for chief Engineer. The Troops appointed for the Service of this Siege conſiſted, in all, of forty Battalions of Foot, and ſixty Squadrons of Horſe and Dragoons, with an Artillery of upwards of 100 large Cannon, and 36 Mortars. Theſe Troops took their Poſts accordingly, the twenty-ſeventh; and, the third of *May*, the Trenches were opened, and carried on with great Succeſs, and very inconſiderable Loſs, by the great Care of the Generals and Engineers.

Diſpoſition of the Attacks.

The Trenches open'd.

THE Preparations for this Siege were ſo very extraordinary, that I ſhall for once, give the Reader the Bill of Fare, that he may form an Idea, by the Proviſion made for this ſmall Banquet, how liberal our General was of them in larger Entertainments, and how aſſiduous he was in having Neceſſaries brought together, from all Parts, for that Purpoſe.

THE

THE City of *Cologn* ſent their Proportion of Cannon and Mortars, with forty Gunners, four Fire-workers, one Lieutenant, one Maſter of the Artillery, ſeveral Carpenters, with Powder and Ball for 1000 Diſcharges. The Artillery delivered by the *Elector Palatine*, conſiſted of 3 Demi-Culverins, ſix Mortars, ſix Quarter-Pieces, 200 Hand-Mortars, with Ammunition for 30 Diſcharges a Day, for the great Guns, 20 for the great Mortars, and 25 for the little Ones; 27,000 Balls of 24 Pounds each, 5400 Twelve-Pounders, 36 Cartouches of 12 Pounds each, 600 Bombs of 100 Pounds each, 1800 of 60 Pounds each, 120 of 40 Pounds each, 6000 Grenadoes for Hand-mortars, 150 Grenadoes of 100 Pounds each, 450 of 60 Pounds each, and 300 of 40 Pounds each, 600 Pounds of Tow, 17,700 Pounds of Muſket-Powder, 123,000 Pounds of Powder for great Guns, 600 Pounds of Priming-Powder, two Tuns of ordinary Powder, 1500 Pounds of Match, three Tuns of Pitch, twenty of Talk, half a Tun of Tar, 80 Pounds of Lime, 30 Ells of Canvas, 100 Pounds of Hemp, three Lime-Kettles, ten Lanthorns, eight large Hair Coverlets, 20 Sheep-ſkins, 600 Truſſes of Straw, Engines for raiſing great Weights, 15 Pitch-Barrels, broken Copper for Shot, 70 Earth-Baſkets of ſeven Foot high, and three and a half broad, 100 ſmall Ones, 5000 Faſcines, 7500 Head-blocks, 15 Foot long, and 15,000 half that Length, 130 Battery-nails, 100 Bills, with great Quantities of other Materials neceſſary for a Siege, and Officers proportionable to attend them. The Landrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel* contributed two Demi-Culverins, two ſixteen Pounders, two 75 Pound-Mortars,

1703. *A Bill of Fare for the Garriſon of Bonn.*

1703. Mortars, four 100 Pound Mortars, two Leſſer Guns, with Ammunition for 500 Charges each, and Officers in Proportion. A few Days after came from *Coblentz*, ſix Demi-Culverins, four Quarter-Pieces, 100 Carriages, four Mortars, ſix Leſſer Guns, 7000 Cannon Balls, 24 & 12 Pounders, 200 Bombs, from 75 to 30 Pounds each, 800 great Grenadoes, 1200 leſſer, 10,000 Hand Grenadoes, 2000 Pounds of Powder, with a great Number of Spades, great Bills, and Faſcines of ten Foot each: And all this may be properly called a Bill of Extraordinaries; The Ordinary of the Army was at the Enemy's Service beſides: Of which I ſhall only mention the *Dutch* Artillery, conſiſting of 90 Demi-Culverins, 50 Quarter-Pieces, 50 Braſs Guns, a good Number of ſmall Guns, a great Number of 12 Pounders, and 500 ſmall Mortars for throwing Grenadoes.

When the Governour ſaw the terrible Preparations, which were making againſt him, by the *Allies*, who had a prodigious Train of Artillery (F. *Daniel* reckons, beſides Cannon, ninety Mortars, and 500 other ſmaller Pieces of a new Invention) he ſent a Letter to the Duke of *Marlborough*, importing:

The Governour's Letter to the Duke.

" THAT an Agreement had been made, the " laſt Year, between the *Electors Palatine* and " of *Cologn*, that the Cities of *Duſſeldorp* and " *Bonn* ſhould not be bombarded, in order to " preſerve the Churches, Palaces, and other " Publick Buildings; the Performance of " which he was ordered to requeſt from his " Grace: And to declare withall, unleſs the " ſame were obſerved, the *Elector* of *Bava-* " *ria* would deſtroy the City of *Nieuburg*, be- " longing to the *Elector Palatine*.

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THE Duke, after having communicated this Letter to the *Elector Palatine*, and the Generals, returned this Anſwer:

His Grace's Anſwer.

" THAT it was not his Cuſtom or Incli-
" nation to deſtroy Cities or Publick Buildings,
" out of prepenſe Malice or Deſign, provided
" the Enemy's Conduct did not put him upon
" ſuch a Neceſſity.

The Siege carried on ſucceſsfully.

THE very Day the Trenches were opened, the Batteries were begun to be raiſed, with great Alacrity, and, being finiſhed by the eighth, the Beſiegers begun to fire with ſuch good Succeſs, againſt both the Town and Fort, that, the ſame Day, the Chain which held the flying Bridge, by Means of which the Fort held a Communication with the Town, was broken by a Cannon-Shot, and the Bridge, which was ſtaved to Pieces, carried away with the Stream, notwithſtanding the Enemy's utmoſt Endeavours to ſave it, with the Loſs of ſeveral Men killed and wounded. The ſame Evening, a very unlucky Accident happen'd, in Major-General *Dedem*'s Attack, where 150 Bombs, and as many Grenadoes took Fire, and blew up, together with a Lieutenant and five Workmen. *French* Hiſtorians aggrandize this Misfortune, and pretend there were 300 Bombs, 3 or 4000 Grenadoes, and a great Number of People, as well of thoſe who were at Work there, as others at a greater Diſtance.

The Fort taken.

THE next Day, the Battery which play'd upon the Fort having made a large Breach, and the Beſiegers being inform'd that the Garriſon was not numerous, the General reſolved to ſtorm it in the Evening; This was executed by 400 Grenadiers, ſupported by four Battalions. During the Attack, the Enemy ſet Fire

to

1703. to all the Barracks, and other Buildings, that they might retire into the City, in Boats, by Favour of the Smoak: But moſt of them were ſo cloſely purſued into the Ravelin, that they had not Time to effect their Deſign. Some Priſoners, who were taken on this Occaſion, reported, that there were 50 Men, yet remaining in a Redoubt within the Fort; Upon which the Ramparts were immediately ſcal'd, and the Redoubt taken, Sword in Hand, after a ſhort Reſiſtance: The greater Part of the Men who defended it were put to the Sword, and ſeveral were taken Priſoners, endeavouring to eſcape, in a Boat. The Diligence and Valour of the Beſiegers having thus prevented the Deſign of the Beſieged; the Commander of the Fort, with thirty of his Men, were made Priſoners, and all the Reſt either killed or drowned. This Succeſs was ſo unexpected, that the Duke of *Marlborough* and General *Obdam* ſent Expreſſes to the *States General* to acquaint them with it. Being now Maſters of the Fort, a great Battery was raiſed in it, which, on the twelfth, began to play on the Town, from ſeventy Pieces of heavy Cannon, and eighteen Mortars, in Order to make two Breaches, that the Place might be ſtormed from the Prince of *Heſſe*'s and General *Dedem*'s Attacks. The Marquis *de Quincy* pretends, that, after the taking the Fort, the *Allies* rais'd Batteries for 80 Pieces of Cannon, 40 Mortars, and 500 Hand-Grenado-Mortars, at the Attack, at the *Lower Rhine* alone.

The Beſieged make a Sally; THE next Day, about Noon, the Beſieged, with about 1000 Foot, ſupported by all their Horſe and Dragoons, made a Sally upon General *Dedem*'s Attack; The Beſiegers, in the Trenches,

Trenches, were, at firſt, put into ſome Diſorder; But ſoon recovering themſelves, they repulſed the *French*, with the Loſs of about 100 Men kill'd, and as many wounded, beſides a Major and three Captains taken Priſoners; Whereas the Loſs, on the Side of the *Allies*, did not amount to half the Number. *French* Accounts pretend to a great Advantage, on their Side, in this Sally; Of which the Marquis *de Quincy*, in particular, gives the following Account. "About two, in the Afternoon, the "Marquis *d'Alegre* made a Sally, with 1200 "Men Infantry, and 400 Horſe, at General "*Dedem*'s Attack. They at firſt did very con- "ſiderable Damage to the Works, and kill'd "all before them; But the *Allies* having caus'd "a great Number of Troops to advance, they "retir'd in very good Order, having loſt but "30 Men, a Captain of the Royal Grenadiers, "and an *Aid Major* of the Crown: Monſ. *de* "*Polaſtron*, Colonel of that Regiment, with "ſome other Officers, being wounded. They "nail'd up ten of the Beſiegers Cannon, and "ſix of their Mortars, kill'd fourſcore of "their Men, wounded 160, and took Colonel "*Malſburg*, and ſeveral other Officers, Pri- "ſoners: In ſhort (*continues my Author*) more "than 400 Rods of their Works were de- "ſtroy'd.

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But are repuls'd.

French *Account thereof.*

ALL Things being now in a Readineſs, to aſſault the Counterſcarp, and Covered Way, on the Side of the Prince of *Heſſe*'s Attack, the Onſet began about eight o'Clock the ſame Night, under the Command of Major-General *Tetſau*, and Brigadier *Palandt*; And the Prince, being there in Perſon, animated the Souldiers, with ſo much Courage and Reſolution, that being

The Counterſcarp taken.

1703. ing ſeconded by the continued Fire, both from the Cannon and Mortars of ſeveral Attacks, they forced their Way forwards, drove the Beſieged from their Works, and, in leſs than an Hour's Time, lodged themſelves there. In this warm Action, General *Tettau* was wounded, with about ten other Officers, and 150 Soldiers killed and wounded, together with the Engineer who commanded in the Works. The *French* pretend the *Allies* had 300 Men kill'd, and 200 wounded, in this Action.

THE *Confederate* Troops ſhewed, upon this Occaſion, ſo much Bravery, and ſuch an aſtoniſhing Tempeſt of artificial Fire was poured in upon the Beſiegers, that rather than ſtand another Attack, the next Day, they beat a Parly, and, on the fifteenth of *May*, N. S. ſurrendered the Place, on honourable Conditions, which were ſigned by the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the *French* Governour, Monſ. *d'Alegre*.

The City ſurrender'd.

F. Daniel's Account of the Surrender.

ACCORDING to Father *Daniel*'s Account, Monſ. *d'Alegre* defended the Place, till the Town and all the Defences were demoliſh'd by the dreadful Artillery of the *Confederates*, and the whole Circumference was no more than one continued Breach.

A Medal ſtruck on this Occaſion.

A MEDAL was ſtruck, on this Occaſion, of which the following is a Deſcription.

ON the Face is repreſented a Buſto of Her Majeſty, with her Uſual Title; And, on the Reverſe, a Plan of the Siege, with the following Inſcription continued in the *Exergue*.

BONA A MALIS EREPTA, SOCIALIBUS ARMIS, IDIBUS MAII, 1703.
BONN *taken from the Wicked, by the Arms of the* ALLIES, *May* 15. 1703.

DURING

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1703.

DURING this Siege, the *French* Marſhals, *Villeroy* and *Bouflers*, who commanded in *Flanders*, embracing the Opportunity of the Duke's being employed there, thought to have ſurpriz'd the *Confederates*, that lay diſperſed about *Maeſtricht*, and after having bombarded that Place, to have fallen upon *Liege*.

A Deſign of the Marſhals Villeroy *and* Bouflers *fruſtrated.*

To this End, they advanced, the ninth of *May*, N. S. at Night, unexpectedly, into the Neighbourhood of *Tongeren*, with an Army of about 40,000 Men. This Town is in the Biſhoprick of *Liege*, and Subject to that Prince. It is ſituate on the River *Jecker*, eight Miles almoſt *Weſt* of *Maeſtricht*, and thirteen *North-Weſt* of *Liege*. Monſ. *de Quincy* ſays, the two Marſhals had the whole *French* Army with them, excepting one Man out of every Company, and all the Guards, which they left behind to ſecure their Camp. Part of theſe Forces came up, under the Command of *Bouflers*, on one Side of the Town, while the Remainder, commanded by *Villeroy*, came on the other; So that the *Confederates*, who were marching, with a Deſign to have poſted themſelves in that Place, were forced to retreat, with all the Haſte they could, under the Cannon of *Maeſtricht*. The Enemy, in the mean Time, fell upon *Tongeren*, where two Battalions of Foot, one of *Elſt*, and the other of *Portmore*, were quartered: They defended themſelves, with extraordinary Bravery, for 28 Hours; But then were forced to yield at Diſcretion. This vigorous Oppoſition gave the *Confederates* Time and Opportunity, to draw together before *Maeſtricht*; So that when the Enemy advanced forward, deſigning, as it was ſuppoſed, to have forced the *Confederate* Ca-

The French *take* Tongeren.

1703. valry to repaſs the *Maeſe* at *Nimeguen*, and the Foot to retire under the Outworks of *Maeſtricht*, and there to have plied them with their Bombs, they found, to their great Surprize and Diſappointment, the *Confederate* Army, under General *d'Auverquerque* drawn up, in Order of Battle, advantageouſly poſted, and ready to engage them, tho' they were much inferiour in Number.

THIS put the two Marſhals to a Stand, not knowing what Courſe to take, and the *Confederates* could eaſily perceive how undetermined they were in their Reſolutions. Firſt they appeared, about ſeven in the Morning, upon the Hill call'd *Duysburg*, with the greateſt Part of their Army, in Order of Battle; From whence they made ſeveral inſignificant Motions, as if they deſign'd to attack the *Right* Wing of the *Confederates*; Which they obſerving, poſted an *Engliſh* Brigade in the Hedges of *Lonaken*, to cover their right Flank, and a Regiment of Dragoons was planted near the Church of *Lonaken*, to ſupport 150 Foot, placed in the Church-Yard, to defend the Paſs from the Heath of *Beſſmere*: And, indeed, where-ever the Enemy ſeemed to bend their Strength, the *Confederate* Generals were careful to double their Oppoſition.

ABOUT ten, the ſame Forenoon, the Enemy made a general Motion of all their Forces, ſending down ſeveral Brigades of Foot, in two Columns, from between *Duysberg-Hill*, and the Village of *Veltweſſen*: Upon this, the *Confederate* Generals concluded, that they were marching directly towards them; But when they came within Reach of the Cannon, they made a Halt, both with their Brigades, and the main Body of their Army, the Brigades ſtretching them-

themſelves out, with their *Right* towards *Duyſberg*, and their *Left* towards *Veltweſſen*. 1703.

IN this Poſture, both Armies ſtood gazing at one another, 'till three in the Afternoon; But then, the two Marſhals, finding all their Motions were to no Purpoſe, and not daring to attack the *Confederates*, march'd back the ſame Way they came, to *Tongeren*, leaving the whole Honour of the Day, to General *d'Auverquerque*, who, by his Prudence, Experience and Valour, prevented the total Ruin of this Part of the *Confederate* Army.

The Duke of Marlborough *rejoins the* Confederate Army.

BONN being ſoon after taken, as I have already related, the Duke of *Marlborough* rejoined the Army of the *Confederates*, which now conſiſted of 136 Squadrons, and 66 Battalions (or, as ſome Accounts ſay, of but 130 of the former, and 59 of the latter) and march'd them towards *Liege*, with a Deſign not only to ſecure that Place, but to oblige the Enemy to decamp from *Tongeren*, where their Army, which, was computed to conſiſt of about 70 Battalions, and 140 Squadrons (tho', if we will believe their Accounts, they were no more, than 60 Battalions, and little more than 100 Squadrons) ſeemed to be poſted, in a very advantageous Situation.

Circumſtances of his March

THE Duke of *Marlborough* had left the Army before *Bonn*, the 17th of *May*, N. S. under the Command of Monſ. *d'Obdam*, who remained there, to ſee the Articles of the Capitulation of that Place put in Execution. His Grace came, that Night to *Juliers*, where he was received by the whole Garriſon, under their Arms, and ſaluted with a triple Diſcharge of the Cannon round the Place. He was conducted to the Governour's Houſe, where he lay;

1703. And his Grace, was, in like Manner, ſaluted again, by a Diſcharge of the Cannon, at his Departure from thence, the next Morning. That Afternoon, his Grace arrived; at *Maeſtricht*, where Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*, and the other General Officers, attended his coming. He continued there that Night, and came, the next Day, to the Camp, which extended from *Lonaken*, where the *Right* Wing was poſted, into the Neighbourhood of *Maeſtricht*, where the *Left* was, the Head-Quarters being at the Cloiſter of *Hocht*. Upon his Grace's coming out of *Maeſtricht*, the 19th, in the Morning, the Cannon was diſcharg'd round the Town, and, in the Evening the Army, with the Artillery, was drawn out, and a triple Diſcharge was made of all the Cannon and ſmall Shot, on Account of the Surrender of *Bonn*. The 21ſt. and 22d. his Grace review'd all the Horſe and Foot, as well *Engliſh*, as Foreigners, and found them all in very good Condition.

Purſues the French *Army.* To purſue the Ends, I have mention'd above, the Duke marched, the five and twentieth, from *Hocht* near *Maeſtricht*, and, having paſs'd the River *Jecker*, advanced to *Hautin*, where the Enemy deſigned to have foraged that Morning; But, upon Notice of the Duke's Approach, they removed to a greater Diſtance, and continued upon their Arms that Night. However, the next Day, when the *Confederates* advanced to *Nieudorp*, they retreated, with great Precipitation, to *Bockworn*, not daring to hazard a Battle; And the Duke of *Berwick*, after having blown up the Walls and Tower of *Tongeren*, where he commanded, quitted that Place likewiſe.

The French *abandon* Tongeren *again.*

THE

THE Duke followed them, and advanced within half a League of their Camp; But the *Jecker* parted the two Armies, and the *French* had ſecured all the Bridges and Paſſes of that River; Notwithſtanding which, they were far from thinking themſelves ſecure, 'till they got to *Hannuye*. Upon the Duke's advancing to *Thys* and *Lamyn*, they did, indeed, draw up in Order of Battle, and ſent away their Baggage, as if they were reſolved to try their Fortune in a Battle; But their Courage again failed them, and they thought it their ſafeſt Courſe, to retire within their Lines. 1703. *Retire before the* Confederate *Army*; *And ſhelter themſelves within their Lines.*

IN this Manner was ſpent the beſt Part of the Month of *June*, the Duke endeavouring to draw the Enemy to a Battle, and they as carefully avoiding it; As, therefore, nothing very remarkable happen'd during that Time, I omit giving an Account of the ſeveral Motions of both Armies, from Day to Day.

THE Duke of *Marlborough*, finding, at Length, it was to no Purpoſe to think of drawing the *French* to a Battle, on equal Terms, took the Reſolution to attack them in their Intrenchments. The Execution of this Deſign was entruſted to General *Cohorn*, and Baron *Spar*, who performed it ſucceſsfully, in the Country of *Waes:* While General *Obdam* (with another part of the Army) ſtaid on this Side the *Scheld*, in Order to make an Attempt on the Lines before *Antwerp*. The *French*, at that Time, had two Flying Camps, one commanded by the Marquis *de Bedmar*, and the other, which hover'd about *Bruges*, by the Count *de la Motte*. The Attack was undertaken in two different Places; That under the Command of General *Cohorn*, was at a Place called *Hoeck* *The Duke reſolves to force their Intrenchments*; *Which is effected by General* Cohorn.

1703. *van Callo*, where he made himſelf Maſter of a Redoubt called *St. Anthony's Hoeck*, and of the *Pearl-Fort*, with little Reſiſtance, and an inconſiderable Loſs. The particular Circumſtances of this Action, the Reader will find, in the two following Letters.

A LETTER *from Monſ.* Hop, *to*——

SIR, *Lillo, June* 27, 1703.

A Letter from Monſ. Hop, to——

" YESTERDAY Morning, General *Cohorn* " had Advice, by an Expreſs from Baron " *Spar*, of his Deſign, that Day, to attack " the Enemy's Lines, near *Steeken*; Upon " which, Orders were immediately given to the " Regiments of *Torſay* and *Polland*, to march " hither, from the Camp at *Stabroeck*, to be " tranſported to the *Polder* of *Namen*; Which " was done, accordingly, Yeſterday Noon, by " the Favour of the Tide and Wind; So " that theſe Regiments got thither early in the " Evening, and marching all Night, arrived " this Morning, betimes, near *Hulſt*, and join- " ed the Body of Troops, commanded by " Brigadier *Schratemback*. Yeſterday Morn- " ing, the Regiment of Dragoons of *Schulem-* " *burg*, and *Heuckelom*'s of Foot, were detach- " ed towards *Santvliet*, to block up the Gar- " riſon of that Place. On their Approach, " the Enemy fired ſome Cannon-ſhot at them, " but without Effect. In the Afternoon, a " Detachment of 2,500 Men was drawn out " of the Battalions of *Salis*, *Dedem*, *Birckenfelt*, " *Linſtan*, *Ranck*, *Tcharner* and *Starler*, who, " the ſame Evening, were carried over the " *Scheld*, toward *Lieskenſchock*; And, in the " Night,

" Night, were followed by the Reſt of thoſe 1703.
" Battalions. Meſrs. *Cohorn* and *Dedem* paſs'd
" over, with thoſe Troops; And laſt Night,
" the Veſſels, that lay here for a Guard, went
" up with the Tide, to incommode the Ene-
" my, in and about Fort *Pearl*. Early this
" Morning, the Enemy's Lines, at the Point
" of *Callo*, were attack'd, and, after a little
" Reſiſtance, forced; On which Occaſion, one
" of the Enemy's Captains was taken. The
" Redoubt of the Point of *St. Anthony* was
" likewiſe attack'd. The Enemy ſeem'd re-
" ſolv'd, at firſt, to defend that Redoubt; But
" ſeing that we were getting ready our Can-
" non, they ſurrender'd on Diſcretion. On
" this good Succeſs, Fire was put to ſome
" Houſes, for a Signal (as was before agreed)
" for the Army commanded by General *Ob-*
" *dam*, and the Body under Baron *Spar*. Du-
" ring theſe Motions and Attacks, we heard
" great Firing of ſmall Shot, from about *Hulſt*,
" and the playing of Hand-Grenado-Mortars;
" Whence it is preſum'd, an Attack has, like-
" wiſe, been made, on that Side, but with
" what Succeſs we are yet to learn. At two,
" this Morning, the Troops commanded by
" General *Obdam* broke up, and march'd to-
" wards *Eckeren* (which is intended for their
" Head-Quarters) with Deſign to ſhew them-
" ſelves, to day, before the Lines of *Antwerp*,
" to alarm the Enemy on that Side, and hinder
" them from ſending any Detachment, over
" the Bridge of *Antwerp*, into *Flanders* ".

J. Hop

A

1703. *A* LETTER *from Monſ.* de Cohorn *to the* States-General.

HIGH *and* MIGHTY LORDS,

A Letter from Monſ. de Cohorn *to the* States.

" HAVING made all the neceſſary Diſpoſitions for attacking the Lines, in the Country of *Waes*, we made our Attack, Yeſterday Morning, and I forced the Lines, on this Side, with the Loſs of three or four Men; But General *Spar* had a harder Task, and loſt a great many Men, of which I do not queſtion but he will give Your *High-Mightineſſes* a particular Account. I am at preſent buſy in diſpoſing all Things, in Order to joyn the Body commanded by Monſ. *Spar*, or to take ſuch other Meaſures as ſhall be neceſſary, according to the Advices I ſhall receive from him, I am, *&c.*

From the Camp at Callo's-Hoeck, *June* 28, 1703. M. B. COHORN.

THE other Attack, commanded by Baron *Spar*, was made near the Village of *Steeken*. The Baron perceiving, that the Count *de la Motte* obſerved him diligently, feign'd a March towards *Bruges*, in Order to deceive him; But returning, march'd directly towards the Lines, where a vigorous Oppoſition was made, by eight Battalions of regular Foot, and 6,000 of the Country-People, who made a ſtouter Defenſe than the diſciplined Troops, and by their Fire, from the Houſes of that Village, very much gauled the *Confederates*, after they were Maſters of the Lines: Which obliged Baron *Spar* to give Orders, that no Quarters ſhould be

The Lines likewiſe forc'd by Baron Spar.

be given them. This warm Action coſt Baron *Spar* 1200 Men of his Detachment, killed and wounded, ſeveral of whom were Officers of Note; In particular two Brigadier-Generals were wounded, and Monſ. *de Vaſſy*, Governour of *Sas van Ghent*, killed. What Number of ſlain the Enemy had I do not find, but about eighty of their common Soldiers were taken Priſoners. This Action happen'd the ſeven and twentieth of *June*. 1703.

BARON *Spar* gave the following Account of this Action, in a Letter to the *States General*.

From the Camp in the Lines, in the County of Waes, *between* Krickenhage *and* Steenbrugge, *June* 27, 1703.

HIGH *and* MIGHTY LORDS,

A Letter from Baron Spar *to the* States.

" AFTER having endeavour'd to deceive " Count *de la Motte*, I thought, this " Morning, to have, at laſt, met with an " Opportunity to attack the Enemy's Lines, " which I did between ſix and ſeven o' Clock. " The Attack was very hot and ſharp, and I " cannot ſufficiently expreſs the Zeal and Bra- " very of the Officers and Soldiers, but this " will better appear hereafter. I have loſt " many brave Men; two Brigadier-Generals " are wounded, Colonel *Vaſſey*, Commander of " the *Saz*, killed. Colonel *Malſburg* wounded, " two Lieutenant-Colonels, two Majors, and " about ten Captains, killed and wounded. I " have receiv'd but a ſlight Wound; my " Purſe, though there was but one *Piſtole* in " it, has ſav'd my Thigh. I have promis'd

" each

1703. " each Grenadier a Piſtole, and half a Piſtole
" to each Pioneer, which they have very well
" deſerv'd, and with the Leave of Your *High*
" *Mightineſſes*, I ſhall pay them, out of the firſt
" Mony the Inhabitants of the Country of *Waes*
" ſhall bring me. I cannot yet exactly learn
" how many Men I have loſt; but I ſhall
" know it to Night. I have to deal with
" Count *de la Motte*, with fourteen Battalions,
" and four Regiments of Horſe and Dragoons;
" but I cannot fancy he has a Mind to fight
" me. I expect, this Evening, Brigadier *Schra-*
" *temback*, with three Battalions, and no Doubt
" but I ſhall receive Orders from Monſ.
" *Coborn*. All that I can do now, is to
" maintain myſelf in this Poſt, till I have
" ſent back the wounded Soldiers, receiv'd
" the Baggage, and know what Monſ. *Coborn*
" deſigns to do. I recommend to the Favour
" of Your *High Mightineſſes* all the Officers,
" and in particular ſuch as have diſtinguiſh'd
" themſelves, in Order to their Preferment,
" they deſerve it very well. The Troops have
" behaved themſelves even beyond Expectation.
" The Line we attack'd was guarded by ſe-
" ven Battalions, and covered by a River,
" inſtead of a Ditch, which we were obliged
" to fill and paſs, and then attack a Fortifi-
" cation, by a narrow Way. I beg Your *High*
" *Mightineſſes* Pardon, for the Confuſion of
" this Letter; for beſides the Buſineſs I have
" upon my Hands; I am obliged to write
" it upon a Cloak. I congratulate this good
" Succeſs of Your Arms, and remain, *&c.*

L. W. Spar.

THE

THE Reader will obſerve, that Baron *Spar* only mentions ſeven Battalions that oppoſed him, but takes no Notice of the 6000 Peaſants, and with this the *French* Relations agree; but all the *Engliſh* Accounts which have come to my Hands, agree in eight Battalions, and 6000 Peaſants. 1703.

The Duke of Marlb. forms a Deſign againſt Antwerp:

THE Duke's Deſign was, after the Forcing of the Lines, to make himſelf Maſter of *Antwerp*, which was garriſon'd by ſome *Spaniſh* Troops, under the Command of the Marquis *de Bedmar:* And the firſt Succeſs made every one, as well at the *Hague*, as in the *Confederate* Army, ſo ſanguine upon it, that it was hardly doubted but that important Place would ſoon fall into the Hands of the *Allies:* But as nothing is more precarious, than the Events of War, they ſoon found themſelves deceiv'd in their Expectations. The Grand Army of the *Confederates*, under the Command of his Grace, and of Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*, was to attack the Lines, on the Side of *Louvain* and *Mechlin*; Monſ. *de Cohorn*, with his flying Camp, was on the Right of the *Scheld*, towards *Dutch Flanders*, to draw the Attention of the Marquis *de Bedmar*, on that Side; while Baron *Obdam*, with another Detachment of the Army, of about 10 or 12000 (ſome Accounts, and particularly the *French*, ſay 15,000) Men, went to encamp between *Eckeren* and *Capelle*, near *Antwerp*; deſigning to act, on that Side, againſt the Lines, which were guarded by the *Spaniards*. The two *French* Generals imagined there would be no other Means to fruſtrate this Project, but by attacking the Body of Troops under Monſ. *Obdam*, and, if poſſible, cutting off his Retreat. To conceal this Deſign,

Which is fruſtrated by the Vigilance of the Enemy.

1703. ſign, the Marſhal *de Villeroy* made a Motion with the Army of the two Crowns, and advanced towards *Dieſte*, upon the Intelligence he had of the Duke's marching towards *Antwerp*.

Reſolutions of a Council of War.

HIS Grace was no ſooner advis'd of this, than he held a Council of War, which was unanimouſly of Opinion, that the *Confederate* Camp at *Eckeren*, conſiſting only of thirteen Battalions, and ſix and twenty Squadrons, which were hardly covered on the *Right*, and it being eaſy for the Enemy, with a Superiour Force, not only to cut off their Communication with *Bergen op Zoom* and *Breda*, but, likewiſe, that with *Lillo*, the beſt Thing they could do, would be to ſend (as they did the very ſame Night) their heavy Baggage to *Bergen op Zoom*, and, upon the firſt Intelligence they ſhould have of the Motion of the Enemy, to change the Situation of their Camp, and retire nearer towards *Lillo*: Which was accordingly done, upon Advice, that the Enemy were come out of their Lines, the thirtieth of *June*, with a conſiderable Body of Troops, and it was not long before the *Vanguard* of their *Left-Wing* perceiv'd them. This Body of Troops, as it appeared afterwards, conſiſted of 33 Battalions, 32 Squadrons, and 47 Companies of Grenadiers, under the Command of the Marquis *de Bedmar*, who was afterwards joined, and aſſiſted by Monſ. *de Bouflers*, and Prince *Tſerclaes*, with 30 Squadrons, and 30 Companies of Grenadiers, from the Marſhal *de Villeroy*'s Grand Camp. Theſe Motions brought on the famous Battle of *Eckeren*, of which I ſhall give a particular Account in the enſuing Chapter.

Motions preceding the Battle of Eckeren.

CHAP.

1703.

CHAP. IV.

THE *Battle of* Eckeren, *with other Tranſactions, to the Concluſion of the Year,* 1703.

THE Conſiderable Advantages, a Relation whereof I have given the Reader in the foregoing Chapter, caus'd an univerſal Joy at the *Hague*, which was, however, damped, for a ſhort Time, by the Arrival of an Expreſs from General *Obdam*, giving the States an Account, "That the *French*, near "*Antwerp*, having received a conſiderable Re- "inforcement, from their main Army, came "out of their Lines, the thirtieth of *June*, N.S. "and ſurrounded the Body of the *Confederate* "Forces, under his Command, and had en- "tirely routed them; and that he had e- "ſcaped to *Breda*, with only thirty Horſe, "and could give no farther Account of thoſe "Troops. *The Battle of* Eckeren.

THE Caſe, in ſhort, was this: The Motions of the *Dutch* Army, after the forcing of the Enemy's Intrenchments, made it be believed, that there was a Deſign on *Antwerp*. General *Cohorn* was making Advances in the *Dutch Flanders*, and General *Obdam* commanded a ſmall Army on the other Side of the *Scheld*, while the Duke of *Marlborough* lay with the Body of the Army, near the Lines in *Brabrant*. Marſhal *Bouflers* was detach'd from Marſhal *Villeroy*'s Army, with a Body, double in Number to *Obdam*'s, to fall on him; and he marched ſo quick, that the *Dutch* were ſur-

1703. prized at *Eckeren*, a Village about four Miles *North* of *Antwerp*, 23 Miles *South-South-Weſt* of *Breda*, and 16 *South-South-Eaſt* of *Bergen op Zoom*, where they were put into great Diſorder, and *Obdam*, apprehending all was loſt, fled, with a ſmall Body of his Men, to *Breda*; but the *Dutch* rallied, and maintained their Ground with ſuch Firmneſs, that the *French* retir'd, very much to their Diſhonour; ſince, tho' they were much ſuperiour in Number, yet they let the *Dutch* recover, out of their firſt Confuſion, and keep their Ground, tho' forſaken by their General.

UPON the Arrival of this Expreſs from *Obdam*, all the *Hague* was in the utmoſt Conſternation. The *States* immediately aſſembled, and after they had ſat in Conſultation, till One in the Morning, diſpatch'd away Monſ. *Gueldermalſen*, and two Deputies more, with Mony and Inſtructions, to prevent, as much as might be, the ill Conſequences of this ſuppoſed Diſaſter. But theſe Deputies, in their Way towards the Frontiers, met with a Meſſenger diſpatch'd by Monſ. *Hop*, Treaſurer-General to the *States*, and their Deputy in that Army, with a Letter to the *States*, which they opened, and, finding in it a quite different Account, returned to the *Hague*.

THIS Action being a very remarkable as well as brave one, and redounding much to the Honour of the *Allies*, I ſhall give my Readers the moſt particular Account of it I have ſeen, which is in a Letter from General *Schlangenburg* to the *States*, the Day after the Battle, as follows:

HIGH

1702.

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,

General Schlangenburg's *Account of the Battle of* Eckeren.

"AFTER that, by Order of your High-
"neſſes, the Army commanded by Ge-
"neral *Obdam* was leſſened to 13 Battalions,
"and 26 Squadrons, and it was reſolved,
"that this ſmall Army ſhould march from
"*Stabroeck* towards *Eckeren*, Count *Tilly* and
"I repreſented the bad Conſtitution of that
"Camp, with ſo ſmall a Number of Troops,
"within three Quarters of a League of the
"Enemy, who, according to General *Cohorn*'s
"Report, could aſſemble fifty Battalions, from
"*Lier* to *Oſtend*, and be re-inforced from their
"great Army; Whereas we could expect no
"Aſſiſtance in Time, nay, not from General
"*Cohorn*. Moreover, I and Count *Tilly* far-
"ther remonſtrated, that the Enemy, being
"ſuperiour in Number, might always cut off
"our Retreat; And we had underſtood, by
"ſeveral Ways, that the Enemy were ſtrong-
"er in their Lines, than we were in our Ar-
"my, and that our great Army had paſſed
"the *Jecker*, and that of the Enemy advanced
"as far as *Tirlemont*; And beſides, that we
"had Advice, of the Enemy's expecting more
"Troops in their Lines; But we could obtain
"nothing by our Remonſtrance, excepting a
"Reſolution to ſend our heavy Baggage to
"*Bergen-op-Zoom*. This was done, at the
"ſame Time, when M. *de Bouflers* arrived in
"the *French* Lines, with a conſiderable Body
"of Horſe and Dragoons, and, as Priſoners
"ſay, with 70 Companies of Grenadiers.
"Upon this, without Loſs of Time, the
"Enemy ſent all their Troops out of their

1703. " Lines, with the Marquis of *Bedmar*, " Prince *Tſercläes*, M. *de Villeroy*'s Son, and " many other General Officers, and having " march'd, with incredible Diligence, they " poſted an *Ambuſcade* of their Dragoons before " our *Left*, and advanced, with the Main of " their Army, to *Capelle*, behind our Camp, " before we had the leaſt Advice of their De- " ſign or March. Nor had we been informed " then, before we had been encompaſs'd, but " that I, and Count *Tilly*, and ſome of our " Major-Generals, making the Tour of our " Camp, met their Ambuſcade of Dragoons, " about one o'Clock, near our Grand Horſe- " Guard. Having diſcovered this Ambuſcade, " we judged the Enemy deſigned to attack " us, and immediately put our Troops in " Arms, and acquainted General *Obdam*, with " what we had done. One of our Guards, " on the Steeple of the Church of *Eckeren*, " acquainted us, at the ſame Time, that the " Enemy came with a great Body of Troops, " towards *Capelle*, and advanced continually; " Upon which, General *Obdam* reſolved to re- " tire under *Lillo*, and ordered two Squadrons " of Dragoons to poſſeſs themſelves of the " Poſt of *Houwen*, to cover the March of our " Army.

" WHILST General *Obdam* was buſy'd in order- " ing their March, we underſtood, that the " Enemy was advanced to *Houwen*, and had " repuls'd the two Squadrons of Dragoons, " whereby the Road to *Lillo* was ſtopp'd. Bri- " gadier *Schulemberg* was detach'd, at firſt, to " poſt himſelf at *Muisbroeck*, and *Gebug*, below " *Houwen*, to cover our Retreat; But when he " came there, he found that Poſt very well guard-

ed,

" ed, by *French* Dragoons and Grenadiers; 1703.
" Whereupon he began to charge them; But,
" they being much ſuperiour in Number, he
" judged a Retreat neceſſary, and tried to ſeize
" the Poſt of *Houteren*, but he found the Ene-
" my alſo poſſeſſed of that. This obliged
" him to draw up at *Watering*, betwixt *Hou-*
" *teren* and *Muisbroeck*, and it was reſolved
" to attack the *French* there, and to make
" them retire, if poſſible; But they were ſo
" advantageouſly poſted, that it was imprac-
" ticable. On the other Hand, the Enemy ad-
" vanced upon us, made a vigorous Charge on
" the Troops of *Munſter*, and began a ſharp
" Battle with the Foot, about three o'Clock.

" PERCEIVING the Enemy to be much ſu-
" periour in Number, we were obliged to
" change our Deſign, and to endure a terrible
" Fire of their Muſkets. General *Obdam*, and
" Count *Tilly*, who were upon the Road, with
" the Horſe, upon the Dike that goes to *Wil-*
" *lemerdonck*, tried to continue their March
" oppoſite to *Houteren*, along the Dikes of
" the *Scheld*, to *Lillo*, and when they arrived,
" found the Enemy poſſeſſed of *Houteren*, but
" they were afterwards chaſed from thence by our
" Troops. Mean while, the Foot continued
" the Fight, betwixt *Houwen* and *Eckeren*,
" with a terrible Fire, on both Sides, till eight
" at Night, eſpecially about, and upon the
" Dike, betwixt *Eckeren* and *Willemerdonck*,
" where Lieutenant-General *Fagel*, and Major-
" Generals *Frieſheim*, and *Erberfeld*, gave ſuch
" Proofs of their Conduct and Valour, as
" cannot be enough admired. Lieutenant-
" General *Fagel* being wounded, in the Head
" and Foot, we not being able to ſuſtain his

1703. " Regiment, and the Enemy, perceiving we " wanted Foot, took the Opportunity to force " our Troops at *Houteren* to retire, and poſted " themſelves there, and at ſome Sluices be- " twixt that Village and Fort *La Croix*, and, " by that Means we were encompaſs'd on all " Sides, having the Enemy's Lines, and *An-* " *twerp*, on our *Rear*, and Fort *Philippine*, " and the *Scheld*, on our *Left*, which obliged " me to ſend to General *Obdam*, and Count " *Tilly*, for their Advice, how to get out of " that Labyrinth. Word was brought me, " that General *Obdam* had not been ſeen for " ſome Time, and that Count *Tilly* ſaid, he " believed him either to be killed or taken.

" UPON this, we reſolved to try all Courſes, " with utmoſt Vigour. Count *Tilly* detached " ſome Cavalry, under General *Hompeſch*, " to ſuſtain the Foot, who maintained a bloody " Fight, for a long Time, upon the Dike: " The *French* alſo ſent Horſe to ſuſtain their " Foot, on this Occaſion. General *Hompeſch* " led on his Horſe, with ſo much Conduct " and Courage, that he broke ſeveral *French* " Squadrons, took ſome of their Standards " and Drums, routed ſeveral Battalions of " their Foot, and drove the Enemy back, a " Quarter of a League.

" BRIGADIER *Wyke*, and the other Briga- " diers and Colonels, having ſpent all their " Powder and Lead, ordered their Men to " put their *Bayonets* in their Muſkets, and pur- " ſue the Enemy, and the Battle being ſharp " and bloody, the Dike was covered with the " Slain and Wounded.

" I HAD then taken Poſt on the Key of a " Canal that joined the Dike, where I placed

" two

" two Battalions, and the Cavalry behind them, 1703.
" to maintain that Poſt to the laſt Extremity,
" if our firſt Troops happened to be broke,
" and for the Security of the Reſt of the Regi-
" ments, that we expected in the Night; But
" the Enemy were ſo diſordered, that they had
" no Mind to renew the Fight, in that Poſt.
" They endeavoured, during the Heat of the
" Charge above-mentioned, to fall upon our
" *Rear*, having, for that End, charged us,
" with four Battalions from *Antwerp*, and
" Fort *La Croix*, along the Village, and
" another Dike of *Willemerdonck*, but found
" that Poſt well guarded, and their Men were
" forced to retire, by the dreadful Fire of our
" Troops. Night coming on, and finding
" ourſelves ſtill encompaſs'd on all Sides, we
" were forced to open a Paſſage by Dint of
" Sword. The *French* had ſeized the Poſt of
" *Houteren*, and ſeveral others towards the
" Sluices, which cut off our Communication
" with *Lillo*, upon which Count *Tilly*, Monſ.
" *Hop*, and I, reſolved to attack that Poſt,
" with utmoſt Vigour, and, our Infantry
" wanting Powder and Lead, we ordered them
" to advance with their Bayonets in their
" Muſkets.

" MAJOR-GENERAL *Frieſheim* and Brigadier
" *Dona* were detached, with four Battalions,
" and marching thro' a Ground full of Ditches,
" waded up to their Middle, to attack the
" Enemy, in that Poſt, on *Flank* and *Rear*.
" We marched alſo ſome Regiments along the
" Dike, and Count *Tilly* advanced with ſome
" Dragoons, and after firing ſome Cannon, on
" that Poſt, we attack'd the Enemy, in *Flank*,
" *Front* and *Rear*, chaſed them from *Houteren*,

1703. " took their Cannon, and beat them from the " Sluices, where they were intrench'd. We pur- " ſued them Fighting, as far as Fort *La Croix*, " which opened our Paſſage along the Dikes to " *Lillo*, where we arrived this Morning, and " are now encamp'd.

" I CAN aſſure *Your Highneſſes*, that all " Your Troops, Horſe, Foot and Dragoons, " fought with a ſurprizing Valour, and that " Lieutenant-General *Fagel*, and all the other " Generals, Majors and Brigadiers, behaved " themſelves, in this dangerous Action, with " admirable Conduct, being only ſorry that " we have loſt ſeveral brave Men. There are " ſome taken Priſoners, and many wounded, " of whom I cannot ſend a Liſt 'till the next. " We have taken ſome Standards, Drums and " Colours, and my Regiment has taken one " Piece of Cannon, and a Pair of Colours. I hope " *Your Highneſſes* will conſider the ſmall Num- " ber of our Troops; That the Enemy was " twice as ſtrong as we; That their Loſs is " much greater than ours; And that almoſt all " of them retired in Confuſion, and left us the " Field of Battle; Whereas we came hither in " good Order. It was my Opinion, Count " *Tilly*'s, and that of all the Generals who were " preſent, that we ought never to have ex- " poſed ourſelves, in ſuch a diſadvantageous " Camp; However, I hope it will be no ſmall " Satisfaction to Your Highneſſes, that this " Action will certainly advance the Reputation " of your Troops.

" I FORGOT to tell You, that the Count of " *Eaſt-Frieſland*, and Count *Vander Nat*, diſ- " tinguiſhed themſelves, on this Occaſion, and " that Colonel *Ivois* aſſiſted me with his Care,

" Valour,

" Valour and good Advice; So that, I doubt not 1703.
" but *Your Highneſſes* will conſider their Merit.
" General *Fagel* is embark'd to day, for the
" *Hague*, to have his Wounds better look'd after.
" General *Coborn* came to *Lillo* in the Night,
" with ſome Regiments, after the Battle; But
" ſent them back immediately, under Major-
" General *Dedem.* All our Regiments, eſpecially
" the Foot, are extreamly weaken'd, ſo that
" they cannot act in a Body, except *Your High-*
" *neſſes* change thoſe that ſuffered moſt, with
" others that are in Garriſons. This Poſt is
" not ſafe, except the Sluices of Fort *Frede-*
" *rick-Henry* be opened, which cannot be while
" we are here, becauſe the Salt-water would
" occaſion Diſeaſes. Monſ. *Obdam* not being
" preſent, I have taken upon me the General
" Command, till I receive *Your Highneſſes*'s
" Order ".

Lillo, July 2, 1703.

THE *States*, having peruſed this Letter, came to a Reſolution, that Thanks ſhould be given to Lieutenant-General *Schlangenburg*, for the great Conduct, Zeal and Courage, which he had ſhewn in the Battle of *Eckeren*; And that he ſhould be made acquainted how well ſatisfied their *High-Mightineſſes*, likewiſe, were, with the good Conduct and Valour of the other General Officers, as alſo, with the extraordinary Courage and Bravery, diſcover'd, as well by the Superiour and Subaltern Officers, as by the private Soldiers, for having maintain'd the Honour of the Troops of that State, and perform'd their Duty, in the Service of their Country: And that Monſ. *Schlangenburg* ſhould

1703. (on the Part of Their *High-Mightineſſes*) ſignify to every one of them, in the beſt and propereſt Form, the Satisfaction they had given, upon that Occaſion.

GENERAL *Schlangenburg*, hereupon, drew up his Troops, and gave them Thanks, in Behalf of the *States*, in the following Terms.

" THEIR *High-Mightineſſes*, the *States-Ge-*
" *neral*, and Their *Mightineſſes*, the Nobles of
" the Council of State, have ordered me, in
" Their Names, to Thank the Officers, High
" and Low, and the Soldiers, for the Bravery,
" Courage and Zeal, which you have demon-
" ſtrated in the Battle ſo particularly known
" to you all. I have Orders to tell you, that
" They will, upon all Occaſions, teſtify Their
" Acknowledgments to you for the ſame ".

ACCORDING to the beſt Computation, the *Dutch* loſt, in this Engagement, 717 Men kill'd, 1003 wounded, 694 Priſoners or deſerted, and 376 Horſes: And the *French* own'd, they had near 1600 Men kill'd and wounded, beſides 150 Officers: And, notwithſtanding Monſ. *Obdam* went off in the Midſt of the Action, yet the other *Dutch* Generals maintain'd the Fight, with ſuch admirable Preſence of Mind, that the Enemy were obliged to abandon the Field of Battle, and march off by Night, without Beat of Drum, or Sound of Trumpet, towards their Lines. The Marſhal *de Bouflers* had, at leaſt, 30,000 Men under his Command; The greateſt Part, of their choſen Troops: And a great many General Officers, and young *French* Lords, accompanied him: The firſt to aſſiſt him, and the latter to acquire Glory, and ſignalize themſelves: Whereas the *Confederate* Army did not far exceed 10,000 Men.

NOT-

NOTWITHSTANDING all these Circumstances, which the *French*, in their Account of this Action, printed at *Namur*, in a great Measure, confirm, and evidently prove the Advantage to have been on the Side of the *Allies*, and tho' they there own their Loss was, at least, equal to that of the *Allies*; (which was supposed to be about 2,500 Men) yet the *French* King was made to believe, that His Troops got the Victory, and caused *Te Deum* to be sung in the Cathedral Church of *Paris*; And that upon the bare and only Circumstance of the Retreat of General *Obdam*. 1703.

The French, *tho' beaten, cause* Te Deum *to be sung for a Victory.*

THE *French* Court, to make this Action appear with the Lustre of a Compleat Victory, did not scruple to affirm, that the *Allies* were superiour in Infantry, and advantageously posted, and yet were obliged to abandon the Field of Battle, as also, their Wounded, Tents, Baggage, six Pieces of Cannon, 44 Mortars, (*Coborn* I suppose) their Ammunition, Provisions, 154 Artillery-Waggons, several Colours and Drums, with the Loss (according to some) of 2000 Men on the Spot, and 500 made Prisoners.

F. DANIEL goes yet farther, and not only positively avers, that the Marshal *de Boufflers*, and the Marquis *de Bedmar*, defeated the Army under General *Obdam*, but makes the Loss of the *Allies* considerably greater, than that of the two Crowns. The *Confederates* (says he) by their own Confession, had 1200 Soldiers, kill'd or wounded, eight Colonels, as many Lieutenant-Colonels, six Majors, seven and thirty Captains, and a Hundred and sixty-six Subalterns; Seven Hundred were made Prisoners, six Pieces of Cannon taken, two large Mortars, forty small ones, all their Tents, and Abundance of Military

F. Daniel's Account of the Loss on both Sides.

1703. Military Furniture. To all this the Marquis *de Quincy* adds, 300 Artillery and Baggage-Waggons, with a pretty large Quantity of Plate and Coin: And, to the Priſoners, he adds Madam *de Tilly*, who came to dine with her Husband that Day. The *French* (according to both) had but 500 ſlain, and 840 wounded. The *Allies* were purſued in their Retreat, 'till eleven at Night, and retired in Confuſion under the Fort of *Lillo*.

THESE Circumſtances are not only contradicted by General *Schlangenburg*'s Account, but by many others: Monſ. *Rouſſet* ſays, the Enemy took four Pieces of Cannon at firſt, but were oblig'd to abandon them again, with one of their own, ſome Ammunition, ſeveral Pair of Kettle-drums, two Standards of the *Gens d'Armes*, ſeveral Colours, and a good Number of Priſoners. The Army continued in the Field of Battle all Night, under their Arms, and march'd, the next Morning, from *Houteren*, to *Lillo*, without any Diſturbance or Attempt from the Enemy.

WE have the following ſhort Account of this Action, and of the Vanity of the *French*, from Mr. *Cardonnel*, the Duke's Secretary.

EXTRACT *of a Letter from Mr.* Cardonnel, *to Monſ.* * * * * *at* Zell, *tranſlated from the Original in* French, *dated* Tielen, *July* 6, 1703.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Secretary Cardonnel *to Monſ.* * * * *at* Zell.

"YOU have, without Doubt, received particular Advice from the *Hague*, of the Action between our Troops, and Part of the Army of *France*, under the Command of Monſ. *de Bouflers*; and as the former

" former, tho' not near half ſo numerous, not 1703.
" only repuls'd them, with a very great Loſs,
" but remained Maſters of the Field of Bat-
" tle, and took from them one Piece of Can-
" non, with ſeveral Standards, Colours, Ket-
" tle-Drums, and a great Number of Pri-
" ſoners; and nevertheleſs theſe Gentlemen,
" according to Cuſtom, have made great Re-
" joicings, as well in their Towns, as in their
" Camp, as if they had obtained a compleat
" Victory; They probably have taken it from
" the Letter, which Monſ. *d'Obdam* wrote to
" My Lord Duke, as ſoon as he arriv'd at
" *Breda*, in which he inform'd his Excellency,
" as he, likewiſe, had done the *States*, that
" all was loſt, and he alone ſaved, as it
" were, by a Miracle, which Letter had the
" Misfortune to fall into the Hands of the
" *French*.

" We are going to have a Conference
" with the Generals of the other Army, and
" the Deputies of the *States General*, to con-
" cert the Meaſures proper to be taken, now
" the two Armies are ſo near one another.
" All I can ſay of it is, that My Lord
" Duke will endeavour to perſuade them to
" attack the Enemy's Lines, to get to *Ant-*
" *werp*, tho' their whole Army is encamp'd
" behind them, *&c.*

As for General *Obdam*, he afterwards wrote a Letter to the *States*, from *Lillo*, wherein he acknowledges, " That he had made too haſty " a Judgment upon the imminent Danger the " whole Army was in; and that the Enemy " preſſing on, with an irreſiſtable Superiority, " within Piſtol-ſhot of the Place where he " was

General Obdam's Juſtification.

1703. "was preſent, and where no Succour could "come up, to enable him to keep his Ground, "moved him to retire: *Adding*, That he "would have re-aſſumed the Command of the "Army, and that the Generals, and other "Officers, made no Scruple to obey his Or-"ders; but that finding himſelf leſſened in "general Eſteem, and look'd upon as unwor-"thy to command the Forces of the *States*, "he had begg'd Leave of *Their High and* "*Mightineſſes* Deputies, to go to the *Hague*, "for a few Days, in Order to clear himſelf "before *Their High and Mightineſſes*, from the "Imputations he lay under.

ACCORDINGLY, General *Obdam* arrived at the *Hague*, the eleventh of *July*, N. S. where, ſhortly after, by Command of the *States General*, he delivered to them in Writing, his Apology for himſelf, which was much to the ſame Purpoſe, with the Letter, of which I have given an Extract above.

ABOUT a Month after, ſeveral Officers of the *Dutch* Army, which was now commanded by Lieutenant-General *Schlangenburg*, wrote a Letter to Monſ. *d'Obdam*, importing; "That "notwithſtanding there run a Report, in *Hol-*"*land*, as if, ſince the Accident that befel him, "of being intercepted from the Army, at the "Battle of *Eckeren*, they had ſcrupled to ſerve "under his Orders, which was far from their "Thoughts; They, therefore, took a Reſolu-"tion, to aſſure him, that they ſhould be ex-"treamly glad to ſee him, at the Head of "the Army again.

The Hardſhip of his Caſe. THERE ſeems to be a Hardſhip in this Gentleman's Caſe, which deſerves Compaſſion. It is certain, that he ſerv'd his Country, above thirty

thirty Years, with unblemiſh'd Fidelity, Zeal, and Courage; nor does there ſeem to have been a Want of either in this laſt Action, if the Circumſtances he relates, in his Juſtification, be true, and I never found they were contradicted. If he was really cut off by the Enemy, and not able to regain his Troops, what better Courſe could he take, than to keep out of the Enemy's Power? If he had been ſlain or taken, one of which muſt have been the Alternative, what Benefit could the *Allies* have reap'd by it? What a tickliſh Thing is Honour! How hardly obtained, and how eaſily forfeited in the Eye of the World! That the Merit of thirty Years painful Service ſhould be ſunk in one Error of Judgment, by which no one was a Sufferer! It is the Misfortune of Great Men, that their Actions ly open to the Cenſures of the Meaneſt, and are but too often judg'd of, not by their true Motive, but by the Succeſs of them. But it was not General *Obdam*'s Fate alone, to ſuffer in his Reputation, on Account of this Action. Marſhal *Bouflers*'s Conduct was juſtly cenſured, and it was thought this finiſhed his Diſgrace. Nor was the Duke of *Marlborough* without ſome Share of Cenſure on this Occaſion; for it was pretended, that he ought to have ſent a Force to ſupport *Obdam*, or have made an Attempt on *Villeroy*'s Army, when it was weaken'd by the Detachment ſent with *Bouflers*. It would be an eaſy Matter to clear his Grace's Character from this Aſperſion, if it were not eſtabliſhed above the Neceſſity of a Juſtification. I have, however, on this Account, been the more particular above, in relating the Circumſtances of this Action, which, with what follows,

1703.

The Duke of Marlb. *unjuſtly cenſured.*

1703. follows, ſpeak pretty plain; I ſhall only add, that Monſ. *Hop* begins the Letter to the *States*, in which he gives them an Account of this Action, by informing them, that the Duke of *Marlborough* had wrote to him, two Days before, to adviſe them to be upon their Guard, and that his Grace had Reaſon to expect from theſe brave Commanders, when forewarned, all that Men could do, the very Circumſtances of this Action themſelves ſufficiently evince.

This Action is the the Occaſion of the States *loſing the Service of two Generals.*

THE *States*, in the mean Time, tho' their Troops gained great Honour, and ſome Advantage, in this Action, had the Mortification to loſe the future Services of two brave Generals by it; That of General *Obdam*, for the Reaſons already aſſigned; and that of General *Schlangenburg*; Becauſe, having given Offence to the Duke of *Marlborough*, by being too free of his Cenſure, on this Occaſion, they were obliged, ſoon after, to diſpenſe with his Service, rather than diſoblige his Grace, whoſe Service they ſtood more in need of: Thus this brave Officer, who certainly behaved gallantly in this Action, loſt by his Tongue, the Advantage he had gained by the Sword.

Motions of the Confederate *Army.*

THE Allies, being willing to repair the Diſadvantages they had lain under, by the Action at *Eckeren*, join'd all their Forces together, with the Intent to come to an Engagement, with the Marſhal *de Villeroy*, who, encamping near St. *Job*, rang'd all his Forces, in Order of Battle, and gave out, that he was reſolved to ſtay there for the Duke of *Marlborough*. His Grace, and Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*, hoping he would be as good as his Word, march'd with the Army under their Command, in ſeveral Columns, to *Hoogſtraet*, within half a League of

of the Enemy's Camp, who, to all Appearance, were making great Preparations, for a vigorous Action. General *Schlangenburg*, decamping from *Lillo*, march'd all Night, and arriv'd, early in the Morning, between *Eckeren* and *Capelle*, to attack them on that Side; and the Duke of *Marlborough*, with his Army, advanc'd in a great *Plain*, over againſt the Enemy, and cauſed four Pieces of Cannon to be diſcharged, for a Signal to General *Schlangenburg*, in Order for him to begin the Attack. But, as he advanced, the Marſhal declined the Engagement, and, having ſet Fire to his Camp, order'd his Army to retire within their *Lines*; which they accordingly did, with great Precipitation. By this Means they covered the City of *Antwerp*, which was exactly in their *Rear*, and thereby fruſtrated the Duke's Deſign. 1703.

THE Duke, failing thus in his Hopes of bringing them to an Engagement, being attended with ſeveral General Officers, and a Guard of 4000 Horſe and Dragoons, went, the 27th of *July*, to view the Enemy's Lines. Lieutenant-*Benſon*, of the *Engliſh* Royal Regiment of Dragoons, with about thirty *Engliſh*, being detach'd, fell in with one of the Enemy's Outguards, of forty Horſe, who, after one Diſcharge, retired, and were chaſed, by the *Engliſh*, to the very Barrrier of their Entrenchments, which gave the *Confederate* Generals an Opportunity to view them, within Muſket-Shot; And from that Day, the Duke laid a Scheme to force them; But the Execution of that Project was induſtriouſly put off, from Time to Time, by the Deputies of the *States General*, of which more in the Sequel. *The Duke of* Marlb. *views the* French *Lines.* *Forms a Deſign to force them.* *The* Dutch *oppoſe it.*

THE

1703. THE Duke probably took a View of theſe Lines more than once; For Monſ. *Rouſſet* mentions, particularly that the fifth of *July*, being join'd by the little Army, which had been under the Command of General *Obdam*, his Grace marched towards the Enemy's Lines, with eighty-four Battalions, and 145 Squadrons, in Order of Battle; Hoping to bring them to a General Engagement, but in vain; For they would not venture out of their Lines.

The Duke of Marlborough marches up to the Enemy's Lines in Order of Battle.

THE ſixteenth of *Auguſt*, N. S. Count *Noyelles*, with a Detachment from the Grand Army, arrived before *Huy*, a conſiderable Town of the Biſhoprick of *Liege*, on the *Maeſe*, having a ſtrong Caſtle, three Forts, and four Churches. It ſtands on the River *Maeſe*, 14 Miles almoſt *South* of *Liege*, and 17 almoſt *North-Eaſt* of *Namur*. Upon his Approach, the Governor broke down the Bridge between the two Towns, and retired, with his Garriſon, into the Caſtle, and the Fort S. *Joſeph*, Fort *Picard*, and Fort *Rouge*, or the *Red* Fort. Notwithſtanding the Fatigues the *Confederate* Troops had undergone, in a moſt difficult March, all poſſible Diligence was uſed for opening the Trenches, which was done, the ſeventeenth, in the Night. The Attack againſt Fort S. *Joſeph* was commanded by the Prince of *Anhalt*, and that againſt Fort *Picard*, by Colonel *Frederick Hamilton*, the only *Engliſh* Brigadier in the Army. The Trenches againſt the former were carried on 190 Paces, but the Engineer, who was to conduct the Workmen to Fort *Picard*, by Reaſon of the Darkneſs of the Night, fell into a hollow Way, which carried off from the ſaid Fort, and was the Occaſion, that the Opening of the Trenches, on that Side, was defer'd 'till the next Night.

Huy *inveſted.*

The Trenches opened.

The

The Approaches were continued, with a great deal of Succeſs, and ſome of the Beſiegers Batteries being ready, the twenty-firſt, began to throw ſome Bombs into the Works of the Enemy, and, the next Morning to fire, with Cannon and Mortars upon Fort *Picard*, Fort St. *Joſeph*, and the Caſtle, which continued till three in the Afternoon, when Fort St. *Joſeph* beat a Parly, as did alſo Fort *Picard*, and the *Red* Fort, about ſeven in the Evening. The Garriſons deſired to retire to *Namur*, with their Arms and Baggage; But that being denied, and no other Terms offered them, than either to ſurrender Priſoners at Diſcretion, or retire into the Caſtle, the continual Fire of the Beſiegers obliged them, at Length, to abandon the Forts, of which the *Confederates* took Poſſeſſion the twenty-third: And Monſ. *Millon*, Governour of the Caſtle, refuſing to admit his own Men into it, they were forced to return into the Town, where they were immediately ſeized and diſarmed. 1703. *The Forts taken.*

UPON the taking of the Forts, the Batteries, that had been raiſed againſt them, were removed, and they began to play upon the Caſtle, where they did great Damage to the Enemy. The five and twentieth, the Diſpoſitions were made for an Attack, and all the Batteries firing, without Intermiſſion, in the Afternoon, the Beſieged had above 100 Men, killed and wounded, in which laſt Number were reckoned many Officers, and the Governour himſelf. Our Troops advanced, in the mean Time, and placed ſeveral Ladders at the Foot of the Caſtle. This was deſigned only for a Feint; But the Enemy, believing we were in Earneſt, beat a Parly, about ſix, in the Evening, offering

1703. ing to ſurrender, upon Condition that they ſhould be allowed to march to *Namur*, with the uſual Marks of Honour. The Marquis *de Quincy* gives a long and circumſtantial Account of this Afternoon's Action, and pretends that the *Allies* mounted the Breach twice with incredible Fury; But were repuls'd with great Slaughter, on both Sides; And that the Officers would have ſtood a third Attack, but were oblig'd by the Soldiers to beat a Parly: But the ſmall Number of Men killed on either Side is a Contradiction to this.

His Grace, the Duke of *Marlborough*, thereupon, ſent a Meſſage to the Governour, That, notwithſtanding the Advantage he had, if they would lay down their Arms, all that belonged to the Officers and Soldiers ſhould be left them, and they ſhould be exchanged for a like Number of our Men, whenever the Marſhal *de Villeroy* ſhould deſire it; And Time was allowed them, 'till three, the next Morning, to ſend a poſitive Anſwer. Upon the Governour's Refuſal, Orders were given for renewing the Aſſault; Whereupon, the Soldiers, in the Garriſon, refuſing to defend the Place any longer, the Governour accepted the Terms offered him, whereby he, and his Garriſon, which, including thoſe who were in the Forts, conſiſted of 900 Men, commanded by two Brigadiers General, were to remain Priſoners of War, 'till the two Regiments, taken ſome Months before, by the *French*, in *Tongeren*, were releas'd. On the ſeven and twentieth of *Auguſt*, in the Morning, the Garriſon march'd out of the Caſtle, and were all diſarmed, except the Officers, who, by the Generoſity of the Duke of *Marlborough*, were allowed to keep their Swords.

The Caſtle ſurrenders at Diſcretion.

THERE

THERE was found, in the Caſtle, a conſiderable Quantity of Ammunition and Proviſions; Of the chief of which, we find the following Specification: 10,100 Pounds of Powder, 254 empty Bombs, 159 fill'd Bombs, 400 Hand-Grenado-Shells, 200 fill'd Grenadoes, 10 Iron-Guns, 1 Mortar, 250 Sacks of Meal, 120 Barrels of Beer, 7 Hogſheads of Wine, 900 Loaves of Bread, *&c.* During the whole Siege, the *Confederates* had not above 20 Men kill'd, and 35 wounded: Whereas the Loſs of the Enemy was very conſiderably above that Number. The Command of the Caſtle was given to the Baron *de Trogne*, who not only perform'd the Part of Chief Engineer perfectly well; But when the Ladders were carried to be ſet up againſt the Caſtle-Wall (as I have related above) he led the 25 Grenadiers, who were order'd on that Service, carrying a Ladder on his Shoulder. 1703. *Loſs on both Sides.*

THREE Days before, a Grand Council of War was held, at the *Confederate* Camp, at *Val nôtre Dame*, in which were preſent the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Deputies of the *States-General*, Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*, Monſ. *Schlangenburg*, the Lieutenant-Generals, and ſeveral Major-Generals. The Queſtion in Debate was, what Undertaking ſhould be gone upon, after *Huy* ſhould be taken? And, the Siege of *Limburg* being propoſed, the Duke of *Marlborough*, who (as I have obſerv'd before) had, with great Care and Diligence, informed himſelf of the Condition of the Enemy's Lines, and got the beſt Intelligence he could, where they might be forced, with moſt Probability of Succeſs, was againſt that Propoſal; And he, together with the other Generals, whoſe Names ſubſcrib'd, gave the following Opinion, ra- *A Great Council of War held.*

1703. *The Duke of* Marlb. *and ſeveral other Generals for forcing the Lines.*

ther for attacking the Enemy's Lines, between the *Mehaigne*, and *Leuwe*, as an Enterprize that would contribute much more to the Glory and Advantage of the Arms of the *High-Allies:* Being alſo of Opinion, that *Limburg* might be attack'd, by a Detachment, when the Seaſon was more advanced.

The Opinion of the Duke of Marlborough *and ſeveral other Generals.*

Their Reaſons for it.

" 1. THE Enemies having great Magazines at *Namur*, for the Subſiſtance " of their Army, and we being, by our Superiority in Number, in a Condition to give " them Umbrage, on that Side, they will be " oblig'd, after we are poſſeſs'd of *Huy*, to put " a great Garriſon into that Place, for the Security of their Magazines; Our Superiority " will be then ſo much the greater, and they " will be the leſs able to oppoſe our Efforts.

" 2. WE having here a level Ground before " us, of above two Leagues and a half in " Extent, where the Enemies Lines are weakeſt, it ſeems to be the only Place where we " ſhould chuſe to attack them; And ſeing our " whole Army may act, it is to be believed, " if the Enemy ſhould ſtand us, it would be " impoſſible for them to defend ſuch an Extent.

" 3. IN Caſe they ſhould venture an Engagement with us, ſeing 'tis what we have " been ſeeking all this Campaign, we are of " Opinion, we ought gladly to embrace the

" Occa-

" Occaſion, becauſe we have a greater Supe- 1703.
" riority at this Time, than ever.

" 4. IF we do not attack the Enemy in this " Place, with the fineſt Troops that can be " ſeen, and ſuch Superiority as we cannot ex- " pect to have next Year, it will be evident, " not only to our *Allies* (to their great Diſ- " couragement) but the Enemy may with rea- " ſon boaſt, that theſe Lines, which they will " make ſtronger every Day, are an invincible " Barrier againſt the Troops of the *Allies*.

" 5. IN Caſe we do not attack the Lines, " there is no other Courſe to be taken, than " either to retire to the other Side of the *Maeſe*, " or to march away to the *Right*, to be near " to the Majory of *Bolduc*, there being no Fo- " rage left in theſe Parts: The firſt wou'd be " diſhonourable to the Arms of the *Allies*; " For their getting the River between them " and the Enemy, would look as if they durſt " not ſtand them, and the latter might be very " dangerous to the *States*; And beſides, the E- " nemy, by Means of their Magazines, wou'd " be in a Condition to undertake any Thing: " Whereas, if we attempt their Lines, ſhould " they pretend to defend them, we may, with " the Aſſiſtance of the ALMIGHTY, hope to " gain a compleat Victory, the Conſequence " of which may be of more Importance than " can be foreſeen; And ſhould they think beſt " to retire, there is ground to hope we might " puſh forward very ſucceſsfully, and draw " mighty Advantages from it.

1703.

" 6. We conſider, likewiſe, that the Enemy " being ſuperior in *Italy*, and in the *Empire*, " and being out-number'd no where but here, " the Eyes of all the *Allies* are fixed upon us, " and they will have Cauſe juſtly to blame " our Conduct, if we do not do all that is " poſſible to relieve them, by obliging the E- " nemy to call back ſuch Succours into theſe " Parts, which is not to be done but by puſh- " ing boldly.

Signed by the Duke of *Marlborough*.

Generals of the *Engliſh*, { *Cha. Churchil*, *Cuts*, and *Hen. Lumley*.

Generals of the *Danes*, { *Cha. Rudolph*, Duke of *Wirtemburg*, and *F. Sholten*.

Generals of the *Lunenb.* { *C. Somerfelt*, *M. Bulow*, *E. Auguſt.* D. of *Brunſwick*, and the Count *de Noyelles*.

Generals of the *Heſſians*, { *Frederick* Prince of *Heſſe*, *Spiegel de Dieſenborg*, *A. Van Tettau*.

The Dutch *are againſt attempting the Lines.*

Having given the Reaſons alledg'd by the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Generals who were of the ſame Opinion with him, for forcing the Lines, it will but be juſt to give thoſe of the contrary Party, who oppoſed them.

Reaſons

1703.

Reaſons oppos'd by the Dutch *Deputies and Generals, againſt attempting the Enemy's Lines.*

" IN the Council of War held yeſterday, the 24th. two Things were debated, *viz.* Whether to attack the Lines, or beſiege *Limburg?* Without Doubt, the firſt would be the more Glorious Attempt; But, before it be determined, we judge it neceſſary to examine all the Difficulties of executing it, and afterwards the Advantage that may accrue from ſucceeding in it. *Their Reaſons.*

" THAT Part of the Lines, that ſeems eaſieſt to be attack'd, reaches from *Waſeige*, on the *Mehaigne*, as far as *Janche*, which is an extent of two Leagues and a half. It lies croſs a Plain, but takes in a riſing Ground, at *Meerdorp:* And it is to be enquired, whether the Enemies are really inferiour in Number to us, and whether their Lines are not ſtronger and better repair'd, than is reported.

" SUPPOSING the Lines forced, it is next to be conſider'd, what will come of it, and whether then we ſhall be able to penetrate into the Country, and to march to *Tirlemont* and *Louvain*. What gives Ground to apprehend we ſhall not, is, that the Enemy, a little within their Lines (of which a Plan lies before us) have Poſts to retire to, that are more defenſable than their Lines; For Inſtance, that of *Ramillies*, where their *Right*, being extended to the *Mehaigne*, near *Taviers*, and their *Left* towards *Ramillies*,

1703. " and *Autregliſe*, they will have a narrow A-
" perture of but 1200 Paces to defend.

" SHOULD the Enemy abandon their Lines,
" and take Poſt in that Camp, it will not be
" in our Power to march towards *Tirlemont*,
" 'till we have forced them to decamp; Be-
" cauſe we ſhall be obliged to paſs near the
" Head of the River *Gheet*, between the Ene-
" my's Army and *Janche*, which will be im-
" poſſible to be done, without Riſquing our
" *Rear-Guard*.

" IF, after the Lines ſhall be either forced by
" us, or abandon'd by the Enemy, it ſhould be
" thought adviſable for our Army to paſs the
" *Gheet* lower, about *Heilerſheim*, the Enemy
" would move down along that River to ob-
" ſerve us, and by extending their *Left* to
" *Heilerſheim*, would have a ſtronger Part of
" the Line before them, than that between
" the *Mehaigne* and *Janche*, and, by that
" Means, hinder us from advancing to *Tirle-*
" *mont* and *Louvain*.

" IF the Enemy poſt themſelves, as we have
" ſaid, about *Heilerſheim*, the Ground between
" *Ramillies* and the *Mehaigne* would ly open to
" us, and we might paſs above the Head of
" the *Gheet*, and ſo cut them off from all
" Communication with *Namur*; But it is not
" poſſible for us, when we are got with the
" Army, within the Lines, in the Part near-
" eſt the *Hanuye*, to march with Expedition
" ſufficient to prevent the Enemy from ſeiz-
" ing the Poſt of *Judoigne*, where they will
" have no more than about 600 Paces of
" Ground to defend.

" If we had, in our Places on the *Maeſe*, all 1703.
" Things neceſſary for the Siege of *Namur*,
" it is not credible, that they would ſuffer
" us to cut off their Communication with that
" Town: But the Body commanded by Monſ.
" *de Pracontal*, and our Diſpoſition upon the
" *Maeſe*, put the Enemy out of Fear of a
" Siege; and the Works which Monſ. *Cohorn*
" formerly added, ſufficiently ſecure them a-
" gainſt the Effects of Bombs.

" We cannot poſitively affirm, that the
" Enemy will do as we have ſaid; But they
" may do ſo, or may repair and ſtrengthen
" their Lines, before we can be in a Condition
" to attack them.

" Prudence alſo requires us to make the moſt
" ſerious Reflections, in an Affair of ſo great
" Importance, and to diſpoſe Things in ſuch
" Manner, if we determine to march towards
" the Lines, that what Courſe ſoever the Ene-
" my takes, we may be in a Condition of
" purſuing our Deſigns: And as the Good of
" the common Cauſe mainly depends on the
" Reſolution we ſhall take on this Occaſion,
" it becomes us to examine, with the greateſt
" Deliberation, whether we ought rather to at-
" tack the Lines, or beſiege *Limburg*, which is not
" a Place of ſo little Conſequence as Men ima-
" gine: For when we are Maſters of that
" Place, which ought to be attack'd in a fa-
" vourable Seaſon, and not in the Decline
" of the Year, by Reaſon the Ways will then
" be impracticable, we not only acquire a
" whole Province, but cover our own Country,
" and the Countries of *Juliers* and *Guelder*;

" We

1703. "We cut off from them all Communication "with our Country, and extend and ſecure our "own Quarters, which will make it eaſy to "clear the whole Country between the *Maeſe* "and the *Rhine*.

"WHATEVER Reſolution ſhall be taken, "We, whoſe Names are under-written, will "not fail to contribute all we can, to facili- "tate the Execution of it.

DONE *in the Camp at* Vignamont, Aug. 25, 1703.

D. Dorf.	*Auverquerque.*
Dompre.	*Count de Noyelles.*
Oxenſtiern.	*Albemarle.*
D. Rantzau.	*W. V. Heuckelom.*
	De St. Pol.
	D'Anhalt.

THESE were the Reaſons oppoſed by the Deputies of the *States*, and the *Dutch* Generals, who would not conſent to hazard Their Troops, in what they called a *deſperate Action*, which, they ſaid, was, at beſt, very dubious, and which, if attended with Succeſs, would yield no farther Advantage, than to find the Enemy retired into their fortify'd Towns; Whereas, on the contrary, ſhould the *French* get the Victory, the *United Provinces* would remain expoſed to their Incurſions. However, the Arguments offered above by the Duke and his Party were very cogent, and, beſides theſe, the Duke had his private Reaſons, founded upon very good Intelligence, which he had by his Spies, of whom, an Officer, who ſerved under him, has aver'd, he

had no leſs than three introduced to him in one Night (after the Fatigue of a hard Day's March) in his Tent, the Officer of his Guard having Orders to wake him when they came. 1703.

THE Project of attacking the Lines being thus laid aſide, the Reſolution was taken to beſiege *Limburg*, a very ſtrong, tho' not large City, and the Capital of the Dutchy and Territory of that Name. It is ſituate on a Rock, among ſhady Woods, on the River *Weſdret*, 16 Miles *South-Eaſt* of *Aix la Chapelle*, 19 almoſt *Eaſt* of *Liege*, 43 almoſt *South-Weſt* of *Cologne*, 54 *North* of *Luxemburg*, and 70 almoſt *Eaſt* of *Bruſſels*. *The Siege of* Limburg *reſolved on.*

THE fifth of *September*, by Break of Day, the Duke and Monſ. *d'Auverquerque* march'd, with the Grand Army, from the Neighbourhood of *Huy*, and pitch'd their Camp at *Hanuye*, within about two Leagues of the *French* Grand Army, conſiſting then of ſeventy-four Battalions, and 140 Squadrons, with upwards of 120 Pieces of Cannon, and 24 Mortars, all mounted on their Intrenchments and Lines, in the Front. The *Confederate* Army then conſiſted of 80 Battalions and 142 Squadrons. The Duke, with ſeveral other Generals, with a Guard of 40 Squadrons, advanced out of the Front of the Camp, within almoſt Cannon-ſhot of the Enemy's Lines, to view their Situation, which put the Enemy in ſo great a Conſternation, that they immediately mann'd their Lines, expecting nothing leſs, than that it was the Duke's Deſign to attack them: But how earneſtly ſoever his Grace might deſire it, his Hands were tied; He, therefore, returned in the Evening, to the Camp. The *French* would have us believe, they were ſo little apprehenſive of the *Allies* attacking *March of the* Confederate *Army, in Order thereunto.*

1703. tacking them, at this Time, that only the common Guards of the Lines ſtood to their Arms; but that the reſt of their Troops made no Motion at all: 'Till, at Length, ſome Troops advancing within Muſket-ſhot of their Lines, and continuing to provoke them, Monſ. *de Villeroy*, ordered a Detachment of Carabineers, and of the King's Guards, out of the Lines, to attack them; Which (ſay they) they did with Succeſs, killing and wounding a great Number of them, and even diſperſing thoſe Troops which were about the Duke's Perſon: But this Story does not ſeem to carry a very great Probability with it. The ſixth, the Army encamp'd at St. *Tron*; from whence on the eighth, the Duke detach'd Lieutenant-General *Bulau*, with a Body of Troops, towards *Limburg*.

THE ſeventh, the Enemy made a Detachment, in order to intercept a Convoy of the *Allies*; but perceiving two Coaches with ſix Horſes, they imagining it to be the Duke of *Marlborough*, quitted their Deſign to purſue theſe Coaches; But to their Mortification found it was Duke *Hamilton*, going to *Aix la Chapelle*, with a Paſs. In the mean Time the Convoy eſcaped, and left them the Shadow for the Subſtance.

Limburg *inveſted.* LIMBURG was inveſted, the tenth, by the ſaid Lieutenant-General *Bulau*, with four and-twenty Squadrons of Horſe and Dragoons. The Officer, who commanded in the Place, had Orders to abandon it at the Approach of the *Allies*, but firſt to blow up the Caſtle: However, being ſurpriz'd, he was obliged to make ſome Defenſe, for his Honour's Sake: and this F. *Daniel*, likewiſe confirms. The Garriſon in

the Town and Caſtle, conſiſted of four Battalions, and they had twelve Pieces of Cannon, and four Mortars mounted. 1703.

THE twelfth, the Duke of *Marlborough*, with the Hereditary Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, march'd from the Camp at St. *Tron*, with 15 Squadrons, and 24 Battalions, in Order to command the Siege, in Perſon, and he arrived there, accordingly, two Days after. The Beſiegers, then conſiſted of 24 Battalions of Foot, and 39 Squadrons of Horſe and Dragoons. The twentieth, the Artillery, with all other Neceſſaries, for the expeditious carrying on of the Siege, arrived from *Liege*; and the next Day was chiefly employ'd in making and bringing together a great Quantity of Faſcines. *The Duke commands the Siege, in Perſon.*

THE Beſiegers, in the mean Time, having taken the reſpective Poſts aſſign'd them, and all the Artillery and other Neceſſaries being come up, a Lieutenant-Colonel, with 300 Men, was ordered to attack the *Lower Town*, from whence the Enemy retir'd, upon their Approach, without making any Reſiſtance. The Trenches being opened, and the Batteries finiſh'd, on the five and twentieth, they play'd, Night and Day, with four and twenty Pieces of Cannon, and eight Mortars, upon the *Upper Town*. *The Trenches opened.*

THE ſeven and twentieth, the Breach was ſo wide, that the *Confederates* were preparing to give a general Aſſault,, which the *French* perceiving, beat a Parly; But the Duke would grant them no better Conditions, than "That "the Garriſon ſhould remain Priſoners of War; "That the Officers and Soldiers might keep "what was their own, and that the Officers "ſhould be allow'd twelve Waggons to carry "their Baggage, provided they deliver'd up one of *Capitulates*;

1703. their Gates, within half an Hour after this Agreement.

And ſurrenders. THIS being conſented to by the Beſieged, the Garriſon, conſiſting of 1400 Men (the *French* Accounts ſay but 700) having laid down their Arms, and being march'd out, the Beſiegers took Poſſeſſion of the Place, and the Duke of *Marlborough* appointed the Baron *Van Rechteren* to be Governour of it. By the taking of this Place, the *Allies* not only became entire Maſters of the Duchy of *Limburg*; but ſecured the Country of *Liege*, and the *Electorate* of *Cologne*, from the Incurſions of the *French*; and before the Concluſion of the Year, they were, likewiſe, Maſters of the whole *Spaniſh Guelderland*, by the Surrender of the City of *Guelders*, on the 17th of *December*, after it had been long blockaded and bombarded by the *Pruſſian* General *Lottum*; and was reduced almoſt to a Heap of Ruins.

Guelders *ſurrendered.*

THE Duke of *Marlborough* gave immediate Notice, of the taking of this important Place, to the *States General*, by the following Letter:

HIGH *and* MIGHTY LORDS,

A Letter from the Duke of Marlb. *to the* States General.

" I CONGRATULATE You, by this, upon " taking of the City and Caſtle of *Lim-* " *burg*, the Garriſon of which was obliged to " ſurrender themſelves Priſoners of War, ac- " cording to the Capitulation, which I have " the Honour to ſend You, hereunto annex'd. " I ſhall remain here two or three Days, to " give Orders, and provide for the Security " of the Place; After which I ſhall return to " the Grand Army, where I ſhall expect the

" Honour

Honour of Your Commands, being, with an entire Reſpect, and perfect Affection, 1703.

HIGH *and* MIGHTY LORDS,

Your moſt humble,

And obedient Servant,

The Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

P. S. " I HAVE, with the Conſent of the " Deputies, ſign'd a Commiſſion to the Baron " of *Rechteren*, to be Governour of *Limburg*, " which, I hope, Your High Mightineſſes " will approve.

THE CAPITULATION.

" SINCE it is our Intention to treat the " Garriſon of *Limburg*, as Soldiers and Men " of Honour, notwithſtanding what has paſs'd, " we will leave to the Officers and Soldiers " what is their own, provided they lay down " their Arms, and ſurrender themſelves Pri- " ſoners of War, and that they deliver up one " of their Gates to the Beſiegers. We alſo " allow twelve Waggons to carry the Equi- " page of the Officers.

The Capitulation of Limburg.

Marlborough.

Randwiick, *Wiſten*, *Reede*,
Agulus, *Rechteren*, *Hop.*

ON Occaſion of theſe Succeſſes, the follow- Medal was ſtruck:

ON the *Face*, a *Buſto* of her Majeſty, with Her Title, as uſual; And on the *Reverſe*, the

A Medal ſtruck on Occaſion of theſe Succeſſes.

1703. Duke of *Marlborough*, on Horſeback; a Nymph crown'd with a Mural Crown, kneeling before him, and preſenting him three Keys, in a Baſon: With the following Inſcription, continued in the *Exergue:*

SINE CLADE VICTOR, CAPTIS BONNA, HUO, LIMBURGO, 1703.

Victorious without Slaughter, by the Taking of BONN, HUY, *and* LIMBURG.

WITH theſe Conqueſts ended the Campaign in the *Netherlands*; Which it muſt be allowed was glorious to the Duke of *Marlborough*; But it might have been much more ſo, had his Grace been allowed to purſue his own reaſonable and well-grounded Meaſures; He had the ſuperiour Army; But what by Reaſon of the cautious Maxims of the *States*, what by Reaſon of the Factions among them, which, at that Time, were riſing very high, between thoſe, who had been of the late King's Party, and were now for having a Captain-General, and thoſe of the *Loveſtein*-Party, who were for governing all by a Deputation from the *States*, no great Deſign could be undertaken by an Army ſo much diſtracted.

THE *French* make it a Merit in their Generals, and heap Applauſes upon them, for having, with ſo much Conduct, prevented the *Allies* from making any farther Conqueſts, this Campaign; And pretend, notwithſtanding what they had attempted at the Opening of it, that they never deſign'd any Thing more than to be on the Defenſive, in *Flanders*, that they might act with the greater Vigour, in *Germany* and *Italy*.

Vol. I. p. 272.

B. Cole Sculp.

1703.

Affairs of Germany.

As I took Occaſion, at the Concluſion of the foregoing Year, juſt to mention what happen'd in other Parts, and eſpecially in *Germany*, during the Time of the War in the *Netherlands*; ſo it will be highly neceſſary to do the ſame here, as an Introduction to the Glorious Actions of the enſuing Campaign.

THE *French*, and their new *Confederates*, the *Bavarians*, had, the whole Summer, miſerably harraſs'd the *Emperour* and the *Empire*. The *French*, on their Side, took *Fort-Kiehl*, *Old Briſac*, and *Landau*, all conſiderable Fortreſſes, on the *Upper Rhine*, and defeated the *Dutch* and *Germans*, under the Command of the Hereditary Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, at the Battle of *Spirebach*, where they ſurprized the *German* Camp, while the Officers were celebrating the Feſtival of St. *Leopold*, in Honour to the *Emperour*, in Mirth and Jollitry. And the *Bavarians*, on the other Hand, having been joined, in the Spring, by the Marſhal *de Villars*, poſſeſs'd themſelves (tho' not without great Difficulty) of *Ratiſbon*.

The Elector *of* Bavaria *takes Poſſeſſion of* Ratisbon.

RATISBON is a very large, rich, and ſtrong City of *Germany*, in the Circle and Dukedom of *Bavaria*; and in a Biſhoprick of the ſame Name, under the Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*. It is famous for the General *Diets* of the *Empire*, which have been held there ever ſince the Year 1662. It was formerly the Capital of *Bavaria*, and afterwards the Reſidence of the *Franconian Emperours*; But was, at Length, taken from the *Bavarians*, by the *Emperour Frederick* I. in the Year 1180, and made a free *Imperial* City, as it now remains. It has a very fine Stone-Bridge over the *Danube*, 1091 Foot long, and 32 broad, ſupported by Pillars, and adorn'd

A brief Account of the City of Ratisbon.

1703. with three Towers. It has, likewise, a magnificent old Cathedral, and a ſtately Caſtle, where the *Imperial* Diets are generally held. The River *Regen*, which falls into the *Danube*, on one Side of it, has given it the Name of *Regenſpurg*, by which alone it is known in *Germany*.

THE *Emperour* having not only refuſed to conſent to the Neutrality of *Ratisbon*, propoſed by the *Elector* of *Bavaria*; but, inſtead of that, required the Sovereign Princes and *States* of *Germany*, to furniſh their *Quota*'s, and to enable Him to prevent the Miſchiefs that threatned the *Empire*; Their Deputies at the *Diet*, who were, indeed, no better than the *Elector* of *Bavaria*'s Priſoners, inſiſted upon their Securities, alledging, that the *Imperial* Court's Refuſal was out of Seaſon, and prejudicial to the Authority of the Princes and States of the *Empire*.

THE Queen of *England*, and the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, preſs'd, with all poſſible Earneſtneſs, that unweildy and Lethargick Body, by their Miniſters, to take effectual Meaſures, to prevent the fatal Conſequences of the Conjunction of the *French* and *Bavarians*. But when ſome of the Deputies would have taken into preſent Conſideration, the Ways and Means for every Circle to furniſh out their Shares of Men, Artillery, and Ammunition, for the Army of 120,000 Men, which the *Diet* had, the Year before, reſolved to ſet on Foot, for the Defenſe of the *Empire*, others replied, That the Conſideration of theſe Things was too late for this Campaign, and too ſoon for the next.

THIS ſupine Negligence of the Diet, the Cauſe of all the ſucceeding Diſtractions of the *Empire*,

1703.

pire, encourag'd the *Elector* of *Bavaria*, to publiſh a *Manifeſto*, wherein he complains, in the firſt Place, " Againſt the *Emperour* and his " *Allies*, accuſing them of exorbitant Plunder- " ing, Extorting Contributions, and burn- " ing his Country, from thence inſinuating, " that he took up Lawful Arms, in his own " Defenſe. He denies his having had any " Deſign (as the Houſe of *Auſtria* gives out) " of joining with *France* to attack the *Empire*: " And avers, that he left the *Netherlands*, and " retired to his own Country, meerly to keep " himſelf out of this New War, and to join " his Endeavours, with thoſe of the Circles of " *Suabia* and *Franconia*, firmly to eſtabliſh the " Peace obtain'd by the Treaty of *Ryſwick*. " He adds, that the Miniſters of the Crown " of *France*, having not only by Memorials, " but verbally, repreſented to the *Diet* at *Ra-* " *tisbon*, and the Circles of the *Empire*, that " their Maſter was diſpoſed to keep the Treaty " of *Ryſwick* inviolably, and the Circles, in " their Anſwers, expreſſing a like Inclination, " he had conformably declared on the Side of " *France*, and entered into a Treaty with that " Crown. That he wiſhed, that the *Imperial* " Court, when they began the War in *Italy*, " for the Succeſſion to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, " had had the Conſent of the *Empire*, at leaſt " of the *Electoral* College: As alſo, when they " declared againſt the Dukes of *Savoy* and " *Mantua*, and againſt the *Elector* of *Cologne*, " whoſe only Crime was, that he would not " be ſubſervient to the Deſigns of the *Houſe* " *of Auſtria*. That his *Electoral* Highneſs had " Cauſe ſufficient to complain of ſuch " Proceedings of the *Imperial* Council, but

The Elector *of* Bavaria's *Manifeſto publiſhed* June 1. N. S.

1703. " ſmother'd his Reſentments, out of Reſpect
" to the *Emperour*; But when the Circles of
" *Auſtria*, *Suabia* and *Franconia*, without wait-
" ing for the Reſolutions of the *Diet* of the
" *Empire*, entered into the War, and conſe-
" quently became unqualified, to give an Im-
" partial Vote in the *Diet*, His *Electoral* High-
" neſs, finding his Country left naked and ex-
" poſed, his Enemy grown more formidable,
" and the Houſe of *Bavaria* in Danger of be-
" ing oppreſſed, he judg'd it high Time, for
" his own Security, and for the Preſervation of
" his Country, to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome ad-
" vantageous Poſts, particularly *Ulm* and *Mem-*
" *mingen*, to prevent being cruſh'd by the Mo-
" narchical Adminiſtration, till now unheard of
" in the *Empire*." This *Manifeſto* was pre-
ſented to the *Diet* at *Ratiſbon*, by the *Bavarian* Miniſter, with another Writing, importing:
" That the *Elector* would think himſelf no
" longer oblig'd to evacuate that Town, tho'
" the *Emperour*'s Ratification of the Reſolve
" of the *Diet*, for a Neutrality, ſhould be ra-
" tified by his *Imperial* Majeſty. However, he
" aſſur'd the Publick Miniſters reſiding there,
" That they ſhould enjoy all Freedom and Se-
" curity in the ſaid Place, with which Aſſu-
" rance he hoped they would reſt contented,
" and demand nothing farther.

He invades Tirol. THE Marſhal *de Villars* then remain'd on the *Danube*, while the *Elector* of *Bavaria* invaded *Tirol*, and poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Inſpruck*, and other Places, with ſuch Rapidity, as amaz'd all *Germany*, and very much alarmed the Court of *Vienna*. He made his Publick Entry into *Inſpruck*, from which he demanded Homage, and a Monthly Contribution of 120,000 Florins,

rins, beſides a great Quantity of Ammunitions and Proviſions. 1703.

THE *Emperour*'s Force was ſo broken into ſmall Armies, in different Places, that He had not one good one any where. He had none at all in *Tirol*; And all that the Prince of *Baden* could do, was to watch the Motions of the Marſhal de *Villars*; But he did not dare to attack him, even during this Separation. His Conduct was very much blamed; Some called his Courage, and others his Fidelity in Queſtion; While many excuſed him, by ſaying, his Army was not only weak, but ill-furniſhed, in every Reſpect. The Duke *de Vendoſme* had Orders to march from the *Milaneſe* to *Tirol*, in Order to join the *Elector* of *Bavaria*, which, if he had effected it, would have reduced the *Houſe of Auſtria* to the Loweſt Extremity. The *Elector* had, at firſt, as I have obſerved, made himſelf Maſter of the greateſt Part of *Tirol*: But the *Boors* riſing, attack'd his Forces, with ſo much Reſolution, that he was forced to retire out of the Country, with conſiderable Loſs, before the Duke *de Vendoſme* could join him. *Vendoſme* ſeemed to have a Deſign on *Trent*; But the *Boors* were now animated with their Succeſs againſt the *Elector*, and were well ſupported, by Officers and Troops ſent them by the *Emperour*; So that he was forced to return back without effecting any Thing. *But is obliged to quit it.*

THE *Elector* afterwards rejoined the Marſhal *de Villars*, and deſigned immediately to have ſeized on *Augsburg*, in which, however, he was then prevented, by Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*; But the *French* and *Bavarians* having, afterwards, defeated Count *Stirum*, near *Hochſtadt*, with a conſiderable Body of *Germans*, the

1703. Prince could no longer hinder the *Elector* of *Bavaria* from attacking *Augſburg*, which he ſoon took, and deliver'd into the Hands of the *French*.

The Elector *of* Bavaria *takes* Augsburg.

AUGSBURG (the *Auguſta Vindelicorum* of the Antients) is a very large, populous, and rich City, one of the moſt celebrated of *Germany*, and a free Imperial City, adorn'd with magnificent Churches, Palaces, Magazines exceedingly well furniſhed, and ſeveral excellent Hoſpitals. It is famous for ſeveral *Imperial* Diets held there, and particularly, in the 16th Century, after the Reformation in *Germany*, by *Luther*. Here, likewiſe, the then King of the *Romans*, *Joſeph* (afterwards *Emperour*) was elected and crown'd in 1689. It is ſituate at the Confluence of the Rivers *Lech* and *Wertach*, near the Borders of *Bavaria*.

A brief Deſcription of that Place.

THE *Elector*, not long after this, turned *Eaſtward*, took *Paſſau*, march'd into *Auſtria*, and made himſelf Maſter of *Lintz*, a very conſiderable City, and Capital of the *Upper Auſtria*. He even threatned to join *Ragotzki*, and the *Hungarian* Rebels, who ravaged *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, and *Moravia*, and made Incurſions almoſt to the very Gates of *Vienna*, His *Imperial* Majeſty's Seat and Capital. To this fatal *Dilemma* was the *Houſe of Auſtria*, at that Time, brought; and what would have been the End of it, if our *Illuſtrious* Hero, the Duke of *Marlborough*, had not come to Their Relief, the enſuing Campaign, as we ſhall ſee below, is eaſy to gueſs.

Farther Succeſs of the Elec. *of* Bavaria.

Miſerable State of the Houſe of Auſtria.

SOME Alleviation it was, of the Loſs the *Allies* ſuſtain'd, by theſe Misfortunes, which befell the *Houſe of Auſtria*, that the King of *Portugal*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, acceeded, about

The King of Portugal *and the Duke of* Savoy *acceed to the Grand Alliance.*

about this Time, to the *Grand Alliance*. The Affairs of *Italy* were this Year ſo inconſider- 1703.
able, that they had no Influence on any Thing in which the Duke of *Marlborough* was concern'd, I therefore, paſs them by, to return to his Grace.

THE Campaign in the *Netherlands* being at an End, as I have obſerv'd above, the Duke of *Marlborough*, having given the neceſſary Orders for the Diſpoſition of the Troops, was preparing to return to *England*. In the mean Time, the Arch-Duke *Charles*, of *Auſtria*, having been declared King of *Spain*, at *Vienna*, by the Reſignation of His Father and His Brother, had taken the Title of *Charles* III. King of *Spain*, *&c.* and was arrived at *Duſſeldorp*, in his Way, thro' *Holland* and *England*, for that Kingdom.

The Campaign ended.

The Arch-Duke of Auſtria *declared King of* Spain.

As ſoon as the Duke of *Marlborough* was informed of the King of *Spain*'s Arrival at *Duſſeldorp*, his Grace went thither, to congratulate His Majeſty, on His Acceſſion to the *Spaniſh* Throne, in the Name of the Queen of *Great-Britain*. The Duke, among other Things, told him; *He was juſt come from putting His Majeſty in Poſſeſſion of* Limburg; To which the Young Monarch anſwered; *That He hoped to be much more indebted to his Grace's Valour, in the Reduction of other Places and Territories to his Obedience.* The King having had Notice of the Duke's Coming, put on, the Day he expected his Viſit, a fine rich Sword, that He deſign'd to make a Preſent of to his Grace, which He did, in the following polite Manner: While they were diſcourſing together, His Majeſty took it from His Side, and giving it into the Duke's Hand, with a graceful Air, *My*

The Duke of Marlborough *waits on him.*

He makes the Duke a noble Preſent.

1703. *Lord* (ſaid He, in *French*) *I am not aſhamed to ſay, I am but a poor Prince,* (Je n'ai que la Cape & l'Epée) *I have only my Cloak and my Sword*; [*alluding to His being a Younger Brother*] *The latter may be of Uſe to Your Grace, and I hope you will not think it the worſe for My Wearing it one Day. So far from it* (replied the Duke) *That it ſhall always put me in Mind of Your Majeſty's juſt Right and Title, and of the Obligations I ly under to hazard my Life, and all that's dear to me, to make You the greateſt Prince in Chriſtendom.* And we ſhall find, in the Sequel, his Grace was ever mindful of his Promiſe, as far as in him lay. His Grace accompanied His Majeſty to the *Hague*, where he arrived the ſecond of *November*, N. S. and the Duke, after ſome ſtay there, to concert proper Meaſures, for the enſuing Campaign, went over to *England*, where he arrived, the thirtieth of *October*, O. S.

The Duke of Marlb. *arrives in* England.

THE King of *Spain*, followed him, the twenty-third of *December*, N. S. and arrived at *Spithead*, the ſix and twentieth, from whence He was invited, by the Queen, to *Windſor*; and being conducted thither by the Duke of *Marlborough*, who was ſent to *Spithead*, to compliment Him, on his Arrival, and by Prince *George*, who met Him by the Way, He was entertained with great Splendour, and Royal Magnificence. His Majeſty ſtay'd but two Nights at *Windſor*, and then return'd to *Portſmouth*, and went on Board the *Royal Catharine*, commanded by Sir *George Rooke*, who was appointed to carry His Majeſty to *Lisbon*.

The King of Spain *arrives in* England.

THIS Year, likewiſe, the Duke of *Marlborough* was appointed Governour of *Greenwich-Hoſpital*.

The Duke of Marlb. *appointed Governour of* Greenwich-Hoſpital.

BEFORE

BEFORE I conclude my Account of the Tranſactions of this Year, I muſt mention one, which happen'd after the Duke of *Marlborough* left the Army under his Command: When the Troops, on both Sides, were thought to be very quiet in their Winter-Quarters, unexpectedly, on the 26th of *December*, in the Evening, the Count *de Noyelles* march'd from *Liege*, with a Detachment, conſiſting of 30 Men out of each Company of Foot, in Garriſon there, notwithſtanding the Inclemency of the Weather, which was very bad and foggy, to *Marche en Famine*, where he was join'd by a good Number of Troops, drawn out of *Maeſtricht*, *Viſet*, *Ruremond*, *Aix la Chappelle*, *Venlo*, and other Places, which together made a Body, of 13,500 Men, beſides 1000 Men more drawn out of *Huy*, who were commanded by the Baron *de Trongue*, Governour of that Place. They continued their March, the next Day, and, on the 28th, betimes in the Morning, arrived before the Enemy's Lines, between the Villages of *Waſeige* and *Merdo*. 1703.

The Confederates *force the* French *Lines in* Flanders.

THE Baron *de Trongue*, with his Detachment, was ſent before, and was the firſt that forced the Lines; And when the Count came up, he found him poſted in the Church-Yard of *Waſeige*; The *French* Forces which were there having been oblig'd to retire, after a ſhort Reſiſtance, and many of them having been kill'd or taken Priſoners. The Count *de Noyelles* immediately gave Orders for demoliſhing the Lines, which was done in leſs than 24 Hours, for the Space of a League and a half, tho' they conſiſted of a Ditch 20 Foot deep, and 24 broad, and a *Parapet* proportionable. In the mean Time, a Detachment was ſent out to put

1703. the neighbouring Country under Contribution, who brought away the principal Inhabitants as Hoſtages, for the Payment of the Sum of 300,000 *Guilders*, which were demanded of them, and which they engag'd to make good in three Weeks Time. The 29th, they march-ed to *Haneff*, whence the Count *de Noyelles* re-turn'd to *Liege*, with the Forces he took with him from thence, as the Reſt did to their re-ſpective Garriſons. This Expedition, which was managed with the greateſt Secrecy, very much alarm'd the Enemy, who expected no-thing leſs, at this Time of the Year: And the Marſhal *de Villeroy* went thereupon from *Bruſſels* to *Leewe*, with a ſmall Detachment of Horſe and Dragoons, being followed by the Sieur *de Ximenes*, with a Body of Troops drawn out of ſeveral of their Garriſons, between the *Sambre* and the *Maeſe*; But the *Allies* being re-turn'd to their Winter-Quarters, they did the like, leaving the Repairing of their Lines to a more favourable Seaſon.

CHAP. V.

TRANSACTIONS *in* 1704, *'till the Forcing of the* French *Intrenchments at* Schellemberg.

1704. I COME now to the ever-memorable Year 1704, a Year as noted, in the *Britiſh* Chro-nicles of the Reign of Queen *Ann*, for the won-drous and happy Succeſſes it produced, as the Year 1588 is, in thoſe of the Reign of Her Majeſty's great Predeceſſor, Queen *Elizabeth*.

WHILE

WHILE our Modern *Hero*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, who would have been a Glory even to that fertile Reign, was buſying himſelf in *Parliament*, for the Good of the Common Cauſe, the *States General* were ſo highly ſenſible of his prudent Conduct, and ſo deſirous of his Preſence among them, that They repreſented to Her Majeſty, by Their Envoy Extraordinary in *London*, *Of how great Advantage his Excellency's Coming to the* Hague *would be to the* Confederacy, *by concerting there, with them, the Meaſures proper to be taken at that Juncture*; And deſired Her Majeſty to give his Grace Leave to paſs the Seas, for a few Days. Her Majeſty was, therefore, pleaſed, on the ſecond of *January*, to give Directions for that Purpoſe. Accordingly, the fifteenth of the ſame Month, the Duke embark'd on Board the *Mary*-Yacht, in the River, in Order to ſail for *Holland*, and arrived, in three Days, at the *Hague*, where he received the Compliments of all the Publick Miniſters, the General-Officers, and other Perſons of Quality. 1704. *The Duke of* Marlb. *goes for* Holland.

HE had ſeveral Conferences, with the Deputies of the *States General*, in which there was a Scheme formed for the Operations of the next Campaign. It was reſolved, that, inſtead of a fruitleſs one, in the *Netherlands*, they would have only a ſmall Army there, to ly on the defenſive, which was to be commanded by Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*; But that, ſince the *Rhine* was open, by the Taking of *Bonn*, all up to the *Moſel*, their main Army, which was to be commanded by the Duke of *Marlborough*, ſhould act there. More was not underſtood to be deſigned, except by thoſe few, who were let into the Secret. *A Plan form'd for the enſuing Campaign.*

UPON

1704. UPON this, all the Preparations for the Campaign were ordered to be carried up to the *Rhine*, that every Thing might be in a Readineſs againſt the Duke's Return. The true Secret was in few Hands, and the *French* had ſo little Scent of it, that they ſeemed to have no Manner of Apprehenſions, that tended that Way. All theſe Matters being ſettled, His Grace left the *Hague*, the eleventh of *February*, and, on the fourteenth, arrived at *London*.

The Duke returns.

Deplorable State of the Emperour *and Empire.*

THE Affairs of the Empire were, at this Time, in a very deſperate Condition; The *Emperour* was reduced to the laſt Extremities; The Elector of *Bavaria* was Maſter of the *Danube*, all down to *Paſſau*, and the Malcontents in *Hungary* were making a formidable Progreſs. The *Emperour* was not in a Condition to maintain a Defenſive War long, on both Sides; Nor was He able to make any Oppoſition againſt them at all, ſhould they have once come to act by Concert.

THUS His Affairs had a very dark Appearance, and utter Ruin was to be apprehended: *Vienna* was in an apparent Danger of being beſieged, on both Sides; And it was not in a Condition to make a long Defence; So the Houſe of *Auſtria* ſeemed loſt, beyond all Proſpect of a Recovery. Prince *Eugene* wiſely propoſed, that the *Emperour* ſhould implore the Queen of *Great Britain*'s Protection; This was agreed to, and Count *Wratiſlau* managed the Matter at our Court, with great Application and Secrecy; The Duke of *Marlborough* ſaw the Neceſſity of Undertaking His Relief, and reſolved to uſe all poſſible Endeavours, to put it in Execution. When he went into *Holland*, as I have ſaid above, he propoſed it

The Emperour *implores the Protection of the Queen of* Great Britain.

to

to the *Penſionary*, and (*as ſome ſay*) other Perſons of the greateſt Confidence: They approved of it; But it was not adviſeable to propoſe it to the *States*; At that Time, many would not have thought their Country ſafe, if their Army ſhould be ſent ſo far from them: Nothing could be long a Secret, that was propoſed to ſuch an Aſſembly, and the main Hope of ſucceeding in this Deſign lay in the Secrecy, with which it was conducted. Therefore, under the Pretext of carrying the War to the *Moſel*, every thing was prepared, that was neceſſary for Executing the true Deſign. 1704.

THINGS being in this Condition, Count *Wratiſlau*, the *Emperour*'s Envoy Extraordinary to the Queen of *Great Britain*, did, on the 2d of *April*, 1704, preſent a Memorial to Her Majeſty, importing;

Count Wratiſlau's *Memorial to the Queen.*

" THAT having at ſeveral times, repreſented to her Majeſty's Miniſters, by Word of Mouth, the preſſing Neceſſities of the *Empire*, by the breaking in of a conſiderable Army of *French* into *Bavaria*; Which, together with the Inſurrection in *Hungary*, had reduced the *Imperial* Hereditary Countries into an incredible Perplexity and Confuſion; So that it was to be feared, an entire Revolution and Deſolation of all *Germany* would follow, if ſome ſpeedy Aſſiſtance were not applied, proportionable to the great Danger they were threatned with: He was extreamly well ſatisfied with the Zeal Her Majeſty's Miniſters had for the Common Cauſe, and with the Attention they gave to his Repreſentations; But nothing being as yet reſolved on, tho' the Seaſon

1704. " Seaſon was far advanced; And the final Re-
" ſolution, on the ſeveral Schemes that had
" been preſented, being deferr'd 'till the Arri-
" val of the Duke of *Marlborough* at the
" *Hague*, this Envoy thought himſelf obliged,
" before his Grace's Departure, to do his laſt
" Endeavour, by repreſenting, in Writing, the
" Danger wherein the *Emperour* and *Empire*
" were at preſent involv'd. That Her Majeſty,
" out of the ſame Zeal for preſerving the Li-
" berties of *Europe*, for which She was ſo much
" fam'd, among the Potentates in Alliance
" with Her Majeſty, would be pleaſed to or-
" der the Duke of *Marlborough*, Her Captain
" General, ſeriouſly to conſult with the *States*
" *General*, of the ſpeedieſt Method for aſſiſt-
" ing the *Empire*; Or, at leaſt, to conduct
" Part of the Troops in Her Majeſty's Pay
" beyond Sea, *to preſerve* Germany *from a*
" *total Subverſion*; it not being juſt in itſelf,
" nor any Ways advantageous to the Common
" Cauſe, that Her Majeſty's Troops ſhould
" tarry on the Frontiers of *Holland*; which
" were not in the leaſt threatned by the Enemy,
" and were defended by great Rivers and ſtrong
" Places, whilſt the *Empire* was deſtroyed by
" the *French* Troops, by Fire and Sword. In
" the Concluſion, Count *Wratiſlau* ſaid, that
" the Deſire he moſt humbly preſented was
" grounded on the Alliance concluded between
" the *Emperour*, *England* and *Holland*; Pur-
" ſuant to which he hoped, that Her Majeſty
" would give thoſe Orders, which were neceſſary
" for the Aſſiſtance of *Germany*; By the Want
" of which, he foreſaw the Miſchiefs which
" would enſue to the Common Cauſe; Eſpe-
" cially, if the Orders of the *States General*, to

" recall their Troops from the *Empire*, ſhould 1704.
" take Place, in a Time when *France* endea-
" vour'd to ſend a powerful Aſſiſtance to their
" Army in *Bavaria*."

The Queen's Anſwer.

To this Memorial, the Queen was pleaſed to return an Anſwer, by Mr. Secr. *Hedges*, importing, " That the Duke of *Marlborough*,
" Captain General of her Armies, had received
" Orders from Her Majeſty, to take the moſt
" effectual Methods with the *States General* of
" the *United Provinces*, Her good *Allies* and *Con-*
" *federates*, to ſend a ſpeedy Succour to His
" *Imperial* Majeſty, and the *Empire*, and to
" preſs the *States* to take the neceſſary Mea-
" ſures to reſcue *Germany*, from the imminent
" Danger it was now expos'd to.

Prudent Secrecy of the D. of Marlb.

EITHER the foregoing Memorial was but Matter of Form, or the *Emperour*'s Envoy was then unacquainted with the great Project, which the Duke of *Marlborough* had already formed to deliver the *Empire*; And which, it is ſaid, he had communicated to three Perſons in *England* only, *viz.* the Queen, the Prince of *Denmark*, and the Lord Treaſurer; Not to above two Perſons more in *Holland*; And not to any of the *Imperial* Court, before he was ready to put it in Execution.

He embarks for Holland.

IN Order to this, His Grace embarked at *Harwich*, the 8th of *April*, O. S. with his Brother General *Churchil*, Lieutenant-General *Lumley*, the Earl of *Orkney*, and other General-Officers, landed ſafely, at *Maeſlandt-Sluys*, the twenty-firſt, of the ſame Month, N. S. and came the ſame Evening to the *Hague*; Where he received the Compliments of the Foreign Miniſters,

Arrives at the Hague.

1704. Miniſters, General-Officers, and other Perſons of Diſtinction.

Has a Conference with the Deputies of the States.

On the twenty-third of *April*, N. S. he was attended by a Deputation of the *States General*, with whom he had a Preliminary Conference about the Meaſures he thought moſt proper to be proſecuted this Summer. The ſame Day, Part of the Garriſons of *Liege* and *Maeſtricht*, with the Troops which had been canton'd, for ſome Time, in that Neighbourhood, conſiſting of ſeventy-three Squadrons, and about forty Battalions, were ordered to aſſemble, on the Riſing Ground of *Leon*, and to encamp, with the *Left*, at the Village of *Harcourt*, and their *Right* near the River *Jaer*.

The States regulate the Poſts of their Generals.

About the ſame Time, the *States General* regulated the ſeveral Poſts of their General Officers: Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*, their Field-Marſhal, was appointed to command Their Forces on the *Maeſe*, having under him the Counts *de Tilly* and *Noyelles*, as Generals: General *Schlangenburg*, thoſe on the *Moſel*: Lieutenant-General *Saliſch*, in *Brabant*; Lieutenant-General *Spar*, and Lieutenant-General *Fagel*, in *Flanders*; And Major-General *Belcaſtel*, in *Savoy*.

The Duke of Marlb. *opens his Project to the* States General.

On the ſecond of *May*, his Grace had another long Conference with the Deputies of the *States General*, wherein he declared to them the Project he had concerted long before, and of which he had only given ſome Hints, to ſuch of them as he had moſt Confidence in, when, at the Deſire of the *States*, he went laſt to the *Hague*. He told them withal, That he thought his marching into *Germany* would moſt conduce to the Advantage of the *Confederacy*, and the Annoyance of the Common Enemy; And there-

fore

fore he doubted not, upon their Report of this Matter to the *States General*, but they would readily concur with him, and join their Forces with Her Majesty's of *Great Britain*, in so glorious a Cause. The *States* spent a whole Day's Consultation upon the Duke's Proposal, to which some Members of that wise and potent Assembly, were somewhat backward to give their Concurrence; Being apprehensive, that by dividing Their Forces, in this Manner, they might lose, in one Summer, all the Advantages They had gain'd, by his Grace's Conduct and Valour, in the two former Campaigns. 1704.

THE next Morning, the Duke had a Conference with the *States General* themselves, and the *Council of State*, to whom he made a very lively Representation of the imminent Danger that threatned the whole *Empire*, and indeed all *Europe*, if an immediate Check were not given to the Progress of the *French* and *Bavarians*, in *Germany*; Adding, That being now entire Masters of the *Maese*, and all the *Spanish Guelderland*, a small Number of Forces were able to secure their Frontiers; These Reasons, supported by the Reputation of him that delivered them, and by the Influence of those whom the Duke had trusted with his Secret, made so great Impression on the Minds of the whole Assembly, that all Affairs relating to the Operations of the ensuing Campaign, were, in this Conference, happily determin'd and adjusted; after which his Grace took his Leave of them, and on the 5th of *May*, at Night, went in a Yacht to *Utrecht*.

The States concur with the Duke's Proposals.

His Grace sets out from the Hague.

THE Consummate Wisdom of the Duke of *Marlborough*, in the Management of this important Affair, on which the Fate of all *Germany*, I may

The Duke's great Caution in the Management of this Affair.

1704. ſay, of all *Europe*, depended, cannot be ſufficiently admir'd. The Plan of it was entirely his own, and it was long treaſur'd up in his own Breaſt only. When Matters were ripe for that Purpoſe, and the Way prepared, he open'd his Deſign to his Sovereign, whoſe Approbation and Conſent was primarily neceſſary; But truſted none elſe with the Secret, but the Lord Treaſurer, in whom he knew he could confide, and who muſt neceſſarily have a Knowledge of it. Having the Queen's Conſent, he was ſenſible that of the *States* was likewiſe requiſite, as ſo large a Body of their Troops were, under him, to be inſtrumental in the Execution of it. He then open'd ſome Part of his Mind to one or two only of the Aſſembly of the *States*, in his firſt Voyage to *Holland*, but prudently kept the main Deſign yet a Secret. At his Return to *Holland*, theſe his Confidants having prepared the Way, he open'd ſo far of his Mind to the whole Aſſembly of the *States*, and by Force of Argument obtained their Conſent to act with their Troops, in *Germany*, that is, on the *Moſel*; But they had yet no Knowledge of his real Deſign to march into the Heart of the *Empire*, and ſtrike at the Root of the Evil, which threatned, and muſt have brought to paſs its entire Ruin, without this ſeaſonable and ſalutary Relief.

Arrives at Utrecht; THE next Day, his Grace's Coaches met him at *Utrecht*, and carried him, that Evening, to *Vortz*, a Seat belonging to the Earl of *Albemarle*; From whence he proceeded towards *Ruremond*, giving Orders for the *Engliſh* Troops, and other Forces poſted thereabouts, to join and Ruremond; march towards *Coblentz*. The eighth, the

Duke

Duke came to *Ruremond*, where he was ſaluted with a Triple Diſcharge of the Cannon, and complimented by the Biſhop and Magiſtrates of the Place, who met him ſome Diſtance from the Town. His Grace gave, the ſame Evening, the neceſſary Orders for the Building of a Bridge, over which the *Engliſh*, and other Troops deſign'd, as it was induſtriouſly given out (for all that had been hitherto propoſed in publick, related only to the Motions, that Way) for the *Moſel*, were to paſs: Thoſe Forces being, in the mean Time, drawing together, towards *Boiſleduc*, under the Command of General *Churchill*, in Order to proceed, on their March to *Ruremond*. 1704.

THE tenth, the Duke went to *Maeſtricht*, where he had the ſame Honours paid him as at *Ruremond*; And Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*, with ſeveral other General Officers, having waited upon his Grace, the Duke accompanied them to the Camp, and, having reviewed the *Dutch* Army, was entertained by them at Dinner, and then returned to *Maeſtricht*. The ſixteenth, his Grace ſet out from thence; and, the ſame Evening, join'd the Detachment, commanded by Brigadier-General *Ferguſon*, with five Squadrons of *Dutch* Horſe, and eleven Pieces of Cannon of the *Dutch* Train. The eighteenth, the Duke march'd to *Bedburg*, and was there joined by General *Churchill*, with the *Engliſh* Forces and Train of Artillery, and the Army encamp'd, with the *Left*, at that Place, and the *Right* at *Caſter*. The nineteenth, the Prince of *Saxe-Zeits*, Biſhop of *Raab*, and the Prince of *Heſſe*, with other Canons of the Chapter of *Cologne*, came from thence to the Camp, to wait upon his Grace; as did alſo Count *Briançon*,

And Maeſtricht.

Reviews the Dutch Army.

Is joined by the Eng. *Forces and Artillery.*

1704. Envoy Extraordinary from the Duke of *Savoy*, to Her Majeſty of *Great Britain*.

The French *miſtake the Duke's Deſign.*

THE *French*, in *Flanders*, began, by this Time, to be alarm'd; tho' they were far from ſuſpecting the Duke's real Deſign. His marching towards *Coblentz*, and the great Preparations which were making in that Place, made them believe, that his Grace deſigned to open the Campaign, with the Siege of *Traerbach*, and endeavour to advance, along the *Moſel*, into *France*. Upon this Suppoſition, they detach'd eight Battalions, and ſixteen Squadrons, towards that River, and gave out, that they intended the Siege of *Huy*, vainly imagining, that, by this Report, they might ſtop the Progreſs of the *Engliſh* General. This Feint was too thinly gloſs'd over, to have any Effect on the Duke; And, beſides, he very well knew, that the Forces he had left in *Flanders*, under the Command of Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*, were ſufficient to fruſtrate any Attempt the *French* could make on that Side; His Grace, therefore, continued his March, according to the Reſolution he had too firmly taken, to be diverted from, by ſuch weak Stratagems, and, on the twentieth of *May*, advanced from *Bedburg* to *Kerpen*.

Attempt, in vain, to ſtop his Progreſs, by a Feint.

The Duke continues his March.

THE next Day, his Grace advanced as far as *Kalſecken*, where he received an Expreſs from Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, giving it as his Opinion, that the *French* might force their Paſſage thro' the *Black Foreſt*, and bring a new Addition of Strength, to the *Elector* of *Bavaria*, which was confirmed by Letters from the Prince of *Heſſe*, Monſ. *Bulau*, and Baron *Hompeſch*, who all agreed, in the ſame Opinion. About the ſame Time, his Grace received Advice

Is adviſ'd that the French *are ſending Reinforcements into* Bavaria.

vice from the *Netherlands*, that the Court of *France* had ſent poſitive Orders to the Marſhal *de Villeroy*, to march towards the *Moſel*, with five and thirty Battalions, and ſix and forty Squadrons; being ſtill firmly perſuaded, that his Grace would act on that Side. He, thereupon, gave immediate Orders for his Forces to march, and, for the greater Expedition, to prevent the ill Conſequences, that might attend a Conjunction of the *French* and *Bavarians*, he himſelf advanced with the Horſe, and left the Infantry to march after him, with the Artillery and Baggage, under the Command of his Brother, Lieutenant-General *Churchill*; who, likewiſe, was very expeditious in following the Duke; tho', in ſuch Manner, as not to over-fatigue the Troops. The Method he took, for this End, was, to begin his March, every Morning, by Break of Day, and encamping in their new Camp, before the Heat of the Meridian Sun incommoded them; ſo that the remaining Part of the Day's Reſt, till the next Morning, at Day-break again, was almoſt as refreſhing as a Day's Halt. 1704.

Uſes his utmoſt Diligence to prevent it.

THE twenty-third, his Grace left his Troops, on a full March, and went to take a View of the Fortifications of *Bonn*, where having given his Directions to the Governour of that Place, he returned, in the Evening, to the Army; and here, he received certain News, that the Recruits for the *French* Army, in *Bavaria*, with farther Re-inforcements, had actually join'd the *Elector* of that Name, three Days before, at *Villingen*.

Viſits the Fortifications of Bonn.

Receives News of the French *and* Bavarians *being joined.*

AS this Incident greatly encreas'd the Difficulties our Illuſtrious General had to encounter with, tho' it could not ſhake his ſteady Reſo-

1704. tion, nor abate his dauntleſs Courage; I muſt beg Leave to make a ſmall Digreſſion, to give a ſuccinct Account of this no leſs important than difficult Enterprize, which, on the Side of the *French*, was executed with great Order, Diligence, and Succeſs, notwithſtanding all the Precautions taken by the *Germans* to prevent it; The Neceſſity of which previous Account, to ſet the Actions of our Hero, and the Honour done to his Intrepidity and Conduct, in a true Light, the Reader will ſee in the Sequel.

The Manner in which it was effected.

THE Marſhal *de Tallard* had ſent into the *Lower Alſace* five and forty Boats, fit to make a Bridge; The Sieur *Laubanie*, Governour of *Landau*, poſted himſelf at *Germerſheim*, with 7 or 8000 Men, and a great Train of Artillery: The Troops brought from the *Moſel*, by the Count *de Coigny*, ſeemed to march that Way; and the Army of the Marſhal *de Tallard* was likewiſe ordered to march thither. Theſe Preparations oblig'd the *Germans* to withdraw Part of the Forces, which they had beyond the Mountains, to re-inforce thoſe appointed to guard the Lines of *Stolhoffen*, and the Banks of the *Rhine*.

THE Recruits deſigned for *Germany*, to the Number of 12,000 Foot, 3,000 Horſe, and 1,000 Officers, were drawn together at *Neuburg*, and the Marquiſs of *Courtebonne* was poſted, on the other Side of the *Rhine*, near *Hunninghen*, with a Flying Camp, to give the *Germans* ſome Jealouſy for the Forreſt-Towns, and the Lake of *Conſtance*. In the mean Time, the *Elector* of *Bavaria* march'd from *Ulm*, the fourth of *May*, N. S. with an Army of near 30,000 Men, and uſed ſo much Diligence, that, on the thirteenth, he arrived within eight Leagues

Leagues of the *Source* of the *Danube*, the *Germans*, who were ſurprized, quitting their Lines, and retiring, as that Prince advanced. The ſame Day, (the thirteenth) the Troops commanded by the Marquis *de Courtebonne*, and the Recruits, deſcended along the *Rhine*; And the Armies of the Marſhal *de Tallard*, and Count *Coigny*, advanced that Day to the Bridges laid at *Briſac* and *Rheinau*, where they paſs'd the *Rhine*. The former arrived, the fourteenth, at *Langendentzling*, at the Entry of the Vally of *Waldkirch*, thro' which there was likewiſe a Paſs. The ſame Day, the Marſhal *de Tallard* cauſed a Road to be made, on his *Right*, leading into the Vally of *St. Peter*, and, on the fifteenth, he commanded a Detachment of Grenadiers, with ten Men out of each Troop of Horſe and Dragoons, and 110 out of each Battalion, under the Command of the Sieur *de Zurlauben*, to poſt themſelves at *Kirchzarten*. The ſixteenth, the *Right* Wing of the Cavalry, with two Brigades of Foot, march'd to poſſeſs the Camp of the Sieur *de Zurlauben*, who advanced towards the Mountain of *Torner*, ſituate in the Middle of the Paſſage. The *Germans* had built a Fort upon that Mountain, but had abandon'd it, as well as ſeveral Redoubts and Intrenchments; And two Regiments which they had poſted in the Abby of *St. Peter*, quitted that Poſt, likewiſe, with great Precipitation. 1704.

THE Marſhal *de Tallard*, who had joined the Detachment of the Sieur *de Zurlauben*, planted ſome Troops, in thoſe Poſts, for the Security of 500 Waggons, which followed the Recruits, and to favour their Paſſage. The Marquis *de Courtebonne* march'd to encamp at *Capel*, at the Entry of the Vally of *Friburg*, and

1704. and was, the ſeventeenth, at *Faulkenſteigh*, where the Equipages and Waggons met together, having paſs'd, in the Night, under the Cannon of *Friburg*. Theſe Waggons were loaded with Ammunition, Arms, Proviſions and Mony, for the Army; and the *Elector* of *Bavaria*, who arrived, the ſixteenth, at *Donau Eſchingen*, the Source of the *Danube*, where the Marſhal *de Tallard* went to pay him a Viſit. He continued there, the eighteenth, to confer with him, and, on the nineteenth, rejoined his Army, near *Friburg*. Having given his Army two or three Days Reſt there, he decamped from the Neighbourhood of *Friburg*, and march'd back towards *Offenburg*, as if his Intention was to attack the Lines of *Biehl*.

The Conduct of the Imperialiſts *blamed.*

THE Conduct of the *Imperialiſts*, on this Occaſion, was very much cenſur'd, as well in truſting the Guard of the important Paſſes of the *Black-Foreſt*, to the *Militia* alone, as becauſe they did not take the Opportunity of fighting the Elector of *Bavaria*, when they might have done it with a viſible Advantage.

THE *Elector* of *Bavaria*, and the Marſhal *de Marſin*, being advanc'd towards *Dutlingen*, General *Thungen* thought fit to withdraw the *Confederate* Troops from the Lines, between the *Danube*, and the Lake of *Conſtance*, and poſted himſelf at *Rotweiler*, the thirteenth, with eight Regiments of Horſe, nine Battalions of the *Dutch*, and two of *Wolfembuttel*. He was re-inforced, the fourteenth, with another *Dutch* Battalion, and three others, beſides three Regiments of Horſe, of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*. The fifteenth, the Margrave of *Bareith* and Count *Stirum* arrived in the Camp, with 12000 Men,

Men, beſides four Battalions, and nine Squadrons; of the King of *Pruſſia*'s Forces. 1704.

THESE Generals, ſeeing they had a fine Army, conſiſting of ninety-nine Squadrons, and two and forty Battalions, were reſolved to attack the *Elector* of *Bavaria*, the ſeventeenth, near *Villingen*; But Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* ſent them particular Orders, not to ſtir from their Camp till his Arrival. The nineteenth, that Prince arrived in his Camp, and having held a Council of War, it was reſolved to attack the Enemy, the next Day: But it was then too late, the Opportunity was neglected; The Army broke up, indeed, according to the Reſolution of the Council of War; But the *Bavarians* having Advice of their Motion, quitted their Camp, with great Precipitation, leaving ſeveral Things behind, and retired to *Donau Eſchingen*, the Armies being ſo near, that ſome *Bavarians* were obliged to paſs almoſt within Musket-ſhot of the *Imperialiſts*, who ſaluted them with ſeveral Vollies of Cannon. The twenty-firſt, the *Elector* march'd to *Huſingen*, and advanced, on the twenty-ſecond, to *Furſtemberg*, and, the twenty-third, to *Engen*.

PRINCE *Lewis* not being able to attack the *Bavarians*, becauſe they were parted by a deep River, and a Moraſs, march'd to *Dutlingen*, the twenty-firſt, and having paſs'd the *Danube*, advanced to *Liptingen*, the twenty-third, to ſtreighten the *Bavarians*, between the Lake of *Conſtance*, and his Army, and oblige them to fight. The twenty-fourth, General *Bibra* joined Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, with 7000 Men, from the Lines of *Stolhoffen*, and both Armies moved toward *Stokach*, the only Paſs thro' which the *Bavarians* could make their Retreat.

The

1704. five and twentieth, they cannonaded each other; But during that Cannonading, the *Bavarians* march'd thro' a *Defilee*, which was ſo narrow, that only two Men could go thro' it in Front, and, the ſix and twentieth, in the Morning, their whole Army was gone thro', and march'd to *Pfuhlendorff*, and from thence to *Saulgen*, having found a great Quantity of Proviſions, at the firſt, which they had ordered to be laid up there, in their March to *Donau-Eſchingen*. They then burnt that Place, and ſeveral others. The *Imperialiſts* having thus ſuffered the *Bavarians* to eſcape, march'd towards *Moſchkircken*, and, the eight and twentieth, in the Evening, arrived at *Riedlingen*. The *Bavarians* were three Days without Bread, and had the *Imperialiſts* ſecured the Paſs of *Stockach*, they muſt of Neceſſity have laid down their Arms, and disbanded themſelves. Some have laid the Fault upon the Guides, who led the Army a great Way about; Tho' more aſcribed it to the Heavineſs and ill Conduct of the *Germans*, and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, who were much blamed on this Account. But, whoever was to blame, 'tis certain the *Imperialiſts* loſt a very favorable Opportunity, which, as it occaſioned great Murmurings in the Army, ſo it rendered the Arrival of Prince *Eugene* amongſt them very deſirable.

Prince Eugene *comes to the* Imperial *Army.*

The Duke of Marlborough *continues his March.*

I RETURN now to the Duke of *Marlborough*, upon whoſe Motions, by this Time, the Eyes of all *Europe* were fix'd, and who, notwithſtanding this Junction of the *French* and *Bavarians*, was, on Account of the Number of the Troops, which the *French* left behind them, and by the Marſhal's marching back, with the Reſt of his Army, towards the *Rhine*, confirmed

firmed in his Opinion, *That the Enemy were as yet wholly ignorant of his true Deſign.* He therefore continued his March, with unwearied Diligence, and advanced, by the five and twentieth, to the Camp of *Neudorff*, near *Coblentz*, where, beſides Mr. *Davenant*, the Queen's Agent at *Frankfort*, and Monſ. *d'Amelo*, Envoy Extraordinary from the *States General*, who came to compliment his Grace, Count *Wratiſlau*, late Envoy from the *Emperour* to Her Majeſty of *Great-Britain*, likewiſe waited on the Duke, to ſettle all Things for his Grace's farther March, and his Conjunction with the *Imperial* Army. 1704.

THE ſix and twentieth, while the Horſe and Dragoons were paſſing over the *Rhine*, his Grace paid a Viſit to the *Elector* of *Triers*, at his Caſtle of *Ehrenbreitſtein*, where he was ſaluted with a Triple Diſcharge of the Cannon round the Place, and having dined with the *Elector*, in the Afternoon, march'd, with his Troops to *Braubach*, a Town belonging to the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe-Darmſtadt*. The next Day, that Prince gave a Viſit to the Duke, who encamp'd that Night, at *Naſtetten*, and, the eight and twentieth, removed to *Schwalbach*. In the mean Time, the Foot march'd, the ſeven and twentieth, from *Coblentz* to *Braubach*, and, the next Day to *Neuſtadten*, having Orders to follow the Horſe and Dragoons, as cloſe as was conſiſtent with the March of the Artillery and Baggage. During the Time the Army encamp'd at *Neuſtadten*, Mr. *Cardonnel*, the Duke's Secretary, wrote the following Letter to Monſ. * * * * at *Zell*.

Viſits the Elector *of* Triers;

And is viſited by the Landgrave *of* Heſſe-Darmſtadt.

TRAN-

1704.

TRANSLATION *of a Letter from Mr.* Cardonnel *to Monſ.* * * * *at* Zell.

From the Camp at Neuſtadt, *May* 28. 1704.

SIR,

A Letter from Mr. Cardonnel, *to Monſ.* * * * *at* Zell.

" MY LORD DUKE diſpatch'd His *Electoral* Highneſs's Meſſenger, laſt Night, in Order for his Departure early this Morning, as I believe he did before five. Not having Time then, to write to you, I would not detain him, but ſhall ſend this to your Agent at *Frankfort*, to be forwarded to you. This ſerves chiefly to thank you for your two Letters, which accompanied Monſ. *de Chamillard*'s Memorial, and *Du Breuil*'s Examination. With Regard to the former, you know already, that the moſt conſiderable Point they concerted, *viz.* the Junction, has had it's Effect, without a Blow being ſtruck, before the Prince of *Baden* had joined the Troops, and while he had given poſitive Orders, that they ſhould not act before his Arrival: We find, however, the utmoſt Deſigns of the Enemy, in this Memorial, and I hope we ſhall be able to traverſe them.

" WE have been theſe two Days in Expectation of another Courier from the Prince of *Baden*, to inform us of the Succeſs of ſome Action between him, and the *Elector* (of *Bavaria*) as he gives us Reaſon to hope, by his Letter, of which the enclos'd is a Copy; But, to tell you the Truth, I expect no great Matter from the Management of this Prince. My Lord Duke has likewiſe

" ſent

" ſent a Copy of it, to His Highneſs the 1704.
" *Elector* of *Hannover*.

" UPON Monſ. *de Villeroy*'s March, we " wrote to the *Hague*, for a Re-inforcement " of Troops, and if it come quickly, I flatter " myſelf, with the Aſſiſtance of the ALMIGH- " TY, we ſhall have a happy Campaign.

" WE continue our March to day, and " ſhall be to morrow at *Mayntz*, where we " ſhall halt but one Day, and then march on " to join our Troops, which are about *Philipſ-* " *burg* ; But our *Engliſh* Infantry, which " marches with the Artillery, could not be " quite ſo expeditious.

I am, *&c.*

A. Cardonnel.

THO' Mr. *Cardonnel*, in this Letter, is pretty modeſt in his Cenſure of Prince *Lewis*, and he did not indeed then know all that had paſs'd ; Yet he gives ſufficiently to underſtand, that little or nothing was to be expected from the *Imperialiſts*.

WHILE the Duke was encamp'd at *Schwalbach*, Lieutenant-General *Bulau*, Commander in Chief of the *Lunenburg* Forces, came to pay his Reſpects to his Grace, who, the ſame Day, received Letters, from the Hereditary Prince of *Heſſe*, and General *Hompeſch*, acquainting him *that they were come to* Mentz, *expecting his Orders*. The Duke had ſcarce read theſe Letters, when he received another Expreſs, from the *States General*, to aſſure him, *that, according to his Deſire, they had given Orders for a Re-inforcement of eight Battalions, and one and Twenty*

The Dutch *promiſe him a Re-inforcement*

1704. *Twenty Squadrons, to be ſent after his Grace, with all Speed, from the Army on the* Maeſe, *and that Monſ.* d'Auverquerque *had appointed ſixteen Squadrons of Horſe, five of Dragoons, ſeven Battalions of* Daniſh *Forces, and one of* Heſſe, *for that Service.*

The Duke of Marlb. *viſits the Elector of* Mentz.

THE nine and twentieth, the Duke continued his March from *Schwalbach* to *Caſſel*, a Village on the *Rhine*, over againſt *Mentz*; And, immediately upon his Arrival, went to make a Viſit to the *Elector* of that Name. At the Landing-Place, on the other Side of the River, ſeveral of the *Elector*'s Coaches attended, to carry his Grace, and his Retinue, to the Palace; And, in the mean Time, he was ſaluted, by a Diſcharge of the Cannon round the City. His Grace, with his Retinue, were magnificently entertained, by the *Elector*, and, after Dinner, a Conference was held, between the Generals, about the farther Motions of the *Confederate* Armies in *Germany*. The next Day, the Duke allowed his Troops ſome Reſt, and, in the mean Time, being attended by the principal Officers of the Army, he viſited the Fortifications of *Mentz*, was again ſaluted by a Diſcharge of the Cannon, and dined with the *Elector*, who intended to have gone over the River, to return his Grace's Viſit, and view his Troops, but was prevented by bad Weather.

The Army paſſes the Mayn;

THE laſt Day of *May*, the Foreign Miniſters, who had waited on the Duke from *Coblentz* to *Mentz*, having taken their Leaves of him, the neceſſary Orders were given, for the Troops to paſs the *Mayn*, which being done, with all Diligence, the Duke continued his March towards the *Neckar*, encamp'd, that Night, at *Grootgerhout*, and advanced, the firſt of *June*,

to

to *Quingenberg*. The next Day, his Grace march'd, with the Army, to *Weinheim*, and, the following, to *Ladenburg*, where he, and the other Generals, took their Quarters, and the Troops paſs'd the *Neckar*, over a Bridge of Boats, and encamp'd on the River Side, oppoſite to the Town. Here the Duke thought fit to halt two whole Days, as well to give his wearied Troops ſome Refreſhment, as that the Reſt of the Auxiliary Troops, which were to ſerve under his Grace, might not be left too far behind. 1704. *And the* Neckar.

FROM *Ladenburg*, the Duke (who had now gained the Advance of ſome Days March of the *French* Troops) wrote to the *States*, and thought he might now let them know the whole Secret, that he had the Queen's Order, to march to the Relief of the *Empire*, with which he hoped they would agree, and allow of his carrying their Troops to ſhare in the Honour of that Expedition. He had their Anſwer as quick as the Courier could carry it, by which they approved (and, indeed, they could not now well do otherwiſe) of the Deſign, and of his carrying their Troops with him; ſo that now the whole Army was at his Diſpoſition without Controul. *The Duke of* Marlb. *informs the* States *of his Whole Deſign*; *Which they approve of.*

THE Duke's bending his March towards the *Danube*, was a terrible Surprize to the *French*, who, after their firſt Miſtake in their Conjectures, that the Field of his Grace's Action was to be on the *Moſel*, had ſurmiſed that he would advance to the *Upper Rhine*, and that he might have a Deſign on *Landau*. This Jealouſy was confirm'd, both by his Grace's March to *Mentz*, and by the Governour of *Philipſburg*'s making a Bridge over the *Rhine*. Upon this *The* French *again miſtaken in their Conjectures.*

1704. Suſpicion, Marſhal *Tallard* repaſſed the *Rhine*, the ſecond of *June*, at *Altenheim*, in Order, either to join the Marſhal *de Villeroy*, or to oppoſe the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Paſſage over that River; of which his Grace was informed, the fourth, by an Expreſs from Count *de Vehlen*, General of the *Palatine* Horſe, who commanded the Forces of the Lines of *Stolhoffen*.

Sundry Intelligences brought to the Duke. THE fifth of *June*, N. S. the Count *de Frieſe* came to the Duke's Army, to acquaint his Grace, from Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, whom he had left, with his Forces, at *Ehingen*, on this Side the *Danube*, that the *Elector* of *Bavaria* was ſtrongly encamp'd near *Ulm*, on the other Side. His Grace, likewiſe, received Intelligence, that Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* was arrived, in the *Imperial* Camp; and that the hereditary Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel* was marching, with the Troops of *Heſſe* and *Lunenburg*, towards the *Danube*. Upon this, Count *Wratiſlau*, who, during all this Campaign, had made it his Buſineſs, with indefatigable Aſſiduity, and admirable Conduct, to create and cheriſh a good Correſpondence, and mutual Confidence, between the Duke, and the *Emperour's* Generals, went from his Grace, to confer with Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, upon Occaſion of the Motions of the Enemy, on the other Side of the *Rhine*; as likewiſe to manage an Interview between his Grace and Prince *Eugene*, which was equally deſired by both thoſe Illuſtrious Generals.

Prudent Behaviour of Count Wratiſlau.

The Duke of Marlb. *purſues his March.* THE Duke of *Marlborough* having given Orders to his Foot and Artillery, which paſs'd the *Mayn*, the fourth, to follow, with the Reinforcement of Horſe and Foot, which was marching from the *Maeſe*, under the Duke of *Wirtemberg*,

Wirtemberg, his Grace decamp'd from *Ladenburg*, the ſixth of the ſame Month, and march'd to *Wiſtock*. The ſeventh, he came to *Eppingen*; and, the next Day, continued his March to *Great Gardach*; during which, ſeveral of the Auxiliary Troops joined his Grace; The Reſt, particularly the Foot and Artillery, which, that Day, paſs'd the *Neckar*, at *Heidelberg*, under the Conduct of General *Churchill*, receiving Orders to meet his Grace, at the *Rendezvous* at *Gielingen*. 1704.

And encamps at Great Gardach.

UPON this, the Marſhal *de Villeroy* march'd, with all poſſible Speed, towards the *Upper Rhine*; and, at the ſame Time, a Detachment of ſeven Battalions, and twenty-one Squadrons, from the Confederate Army in *Flanders*, under the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, follow'd the Duke of *Marlborough*.

Monſ. de Villeroy *marches towards the* Upper Rhine.

WHILE the Duke was encamp'd at *Great Gardach*, the Baron *de Staſtarol*, Grand Marſhal to the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, came to compliment the Duke of *Marlborough*, in the Name of the Duke his Maſter, and aſſure him, that all poſſible Aſſiſtance ſhould be given to the Troops under his Grace's Command, in their March thro' his Maſter's Territories.

The Duke complimented by the Duke of Wirtemberg.

THE ninth, the Duke march'd, with the Horſe, from *Great Gardach*, to *Mondelſheim*, where he halted the next Day, and, in the Morning, receiv'd Advice, by an Adjutant-General, that Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, with Count *Wratiſlau*, were on the Road to his Camp, intending to dine with his Grace. About three in the Afternoon, his Highneſs arrived, at the Duke's Quarters, at *Mondelſheim*, where he was received with all the Marks of

Firſt Interview between Pr. Eugene, *and the Duke of* Marlb.

1704. Honour and Civility due to his Rank and Quality.

A Sketch of their Characters. POSTERITY, as well as the preſent Age, will, without Doubt, be curious to know, what paſſed at the firſt Interview of theſe Twin-Conſtellations in Glory, the two greateſt Generals of this Age, equal in their Merit and Fame, as well for their Courage and Conduct in Military Exploits, as their Prudence in Council; their Dexterity and Addreſs, in the Management of Affairs; and their Politeneſs, Temper, and Affability: What is come to my Knowledge, I ſhall faithfully relate, and wiſh it were in my Power to gratify my Readers farther. After Dinner, which was as magnificent as the Circumſtances of Time and Place could admit of, the remaining Part of the Day was ſpent in Conſultations on the preſent Poſture of Affairs, which laſted ſeveral Hours together; and the mutual Satisfaction and Opinion they, at that Time conceived, at and of each other's Prudence and Capacity, muſt have been very great; ſince the reciprocal Eſteem, they before had, grew, from thenceforward, into ſo ſtrict a Friendſhip and Confidence, as very much contributed to the Glorious Succeſſes, which attended the Arms of the *Allies*, during the whole War.

They hold a Conſultation;

Reſult of it. The Reſult of their Conſultations then was, That the two Armies ſhould join, and that the Duke of *Marlborough*, and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, ſhould command, each Day, alternately, and that Prince *Eugene* ſhould head a ſeparate Army on the *Rhine*.

Honours done the D. of Marl. THUS the Duke, to his own, and his Country's Honour, obtain'd a Poſt, which equall'd him to the firſt General in Chriſtendom, *viz.* to command alternately with Prince *Lewis*, and after-

afterwards with Prince *Eugene*, and that in the Heart of *Germany*, where, always till then, the Forces of the *Empire* had the Precedence. 1704.

THE next Day, his Highneſs marched with the Duke to *Great Heppach*, where his Grace having ordered his Army to be drawn up in *Battalia*, before the Prince, his Highneſs expreſs'd his Surprize, to find them in ſo excellent a Condition, after ſo long and ſpeedy a March: Upon which Occaſion, he is reported to have ſaid; *My Lord, I never ſaw better Horſes, better Cloaths, finer Belts and Accoutrements; yet all theſe may be had for Mony; but there is a Spirit in the Looks of your Men, which I never yet ſaw in any, in my Life.* His Grace, who could not but be extreamly pleas'd with the Compliment, was not, however, behind-hand with his Highneſs in Politeneſs, but is ſaid to have anſwered: *Sir, if it be as you ſay, that Spirit is inſpired in them by your Preſence.* *Compliments paſs'd between the Prince and the Duke.*

THE twelfth, Advice was brought from the Army commanded by Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, that three Regiments of Horſe marched from thence, the eighth, to the Lines of *Stolhoffen*; and that, the tenth, they were follow'd by 9000 Men of the *Pruſſian* Forces, in order to oppoſe the *French*, on that Side. The thirteenth, in the Morning, the Duke was inform'd by Count *Wratiſlau*, that Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* was coming Poſt to meet his Grace; upon which the Duke ſent Colonel *Cadogan*, with a Compliment to his Highneſs, whom he found at *Eſlingen*, with Prince *Lobcowitz*, his Nephew, and conducted them to *Great Heppach*. *Prince* Lewis *of* Baden *comes to the Duke of* Marlb.

AMONG other Expreſſions of Civility, which paſs'd between Prince *Lewis* and the Duke of *Marlborough*, his Highneſs ſaid; *That his Grace* *Expreſſions of Civility which paſs'd betwixt them.*

1704. *was come to ſave the* Empire, *and give him an Opportunity to vindicate his Honour; which he was ſenſible was, in ſome Manner, at the laſt Stake, in the Opinion of ſome People.* To which his Grace is ſaid to have replied: *That he came to learn from him, how to do the* Empire *Service; for they muſt want Judgment who did not know, that the Prince of* Baden *had not only, when his Health would permit him, preſerved the* Empire, *but extended its Conqueſts, as well as ſecured its own.* Mutual Compliments being over, a Conference was held between the Generals, wherein it was reſolved, *That the Auxiliary Troops, in the Neighbourhood, ſhould join the Army on the* Danube, *for ſome Days, and that Prince* Lewis, *and the Duke of* Marlborough, *ſhould have each his Day of Command alternatively, as long as they continued together; while Prince* Eugene *ſhould repair towards* Philipſburg, *to defend the Paſſage on the* Rhine, *the Lines of* Stolhoffen, *the Country of* Wirtemberg, *or act otherwiſe, according to the Motions of the* French.

A Conference between the Generals.

The Reſult of it.

Farther Motions of the Army.

THE next Morning early, the Horſe march'd from *Great Heppach*, while his Grace ſtaid there to entertain Prince *Lewis*, and Prince *Eugene*, at Dinner, after which, the former returned to his Army on the *Danube*, and Prince *Eugene* went Poſt for *Philipſburg*, to command the Army on the *Rhine*. In the Evening, the Duke joined the Troops under his Command, in the Camp at *Eberſpach*, where the Prince of *Heſſe*, with Monſ. *Bulau*, and Baron *Hompeſch* attended, to give his Grace an Account, that the Troops were all in the Neighbourhood, ready to march to their appointed *Rendezvous*. The ſixteenth, the Duke march'd with

the

the Horſe, from *Eberſpach*, to *Groſs Seinſſen*, 1704.
the other Auxiliary Troops marching, at the ſame Time, in two Bodies, under the Command of the Prince of *Heſſe*, and Monſ. *Balau*, and encamp'd at ſome Diſtance from the Duke, but diſpoſed in ſuch Manner, that the whole might be able to join Prince *Lewis* in one Day's March, as ſoon as he ſhould make a Motion, with his Army, towards his Grace.

THE ſame Day, the Duke had Advice from *Ulm*, that the *Elector* of *Bavaria* march'd, the fifteenth, with a conſiderable Detachment; And a Deſerter, who came in, the eighteenth, reported, that ſome Regiments of his Forces were daily paſſing the *Danube*. This was confirmed, by the Information the Grand Marſhal to the Duke of *Wirtemberg* received from *Ulm*, that the reſt of the *Elector*'s Army had paſs'd the *Danube*, and that he had put his heavy Baggage into that City. The twentieth, the Duke of *Marlborough* had an Account, from the *Rhine*, that, ſix Days before, the Marſhals *de Villeroy* and *Tallard* had a Conference at *Landau*; But had not undertaken any Thing as yet; And that, the twentieth of *June*, Prince *Eugene* was joined by the *Pruſſian* Troops, which made up his Army, on the *Rhine*, near 30,000 Men. The twenty-firſt of *June*, the Duke of *Marlborough* decamp'd, with the Horſe, from *Groſs Seinſſen*, and, in his March, was joined, by the Auxiliary Troops of *Lunenburg*, *Hannover* and *Heſſe*.

Two Days before, Mr. *Cardonnel*, the Duke's Secretary wrote a Letter, of which the underneath is a Tranſlation, to Monſ. * * * at *Zell*.

1704.

From the Camp at Groſz Seinſſen, *June* 19*th*, 1704.

SIR,

A Letter from Mr. Cardonnel *to Monſ.* * * * *at* Zell.

"THE Letter you did me the Honour of "Writing to me, the fourth Inſtant, did "not come to my Hands till Yeſterday. I "hope you are, in ſome Meaſure, recovered "from your Apprehenſions for the *Rhine*, "ſince you are inform'd that Prince *Eugene* "is there. I aſſure you, I depend much more "upon him, than if the other Perſon you "mention had went thither. This Prince is "to be join'd, to morrow, by the *Pruſſian* "Troops, and will then have an Army of "30,000 Men, good Troops, with which we "may hope to be in Safety on that Side.

"WE have been here four Days, and ex-"pect, every Moment, Advices from the Prince "of *Baden*, that we may join him; But the "continual Rains will hinder us from entring "into Action, ſo ſoon as it were to be wiſhed. "When we are join'd, My Lord Duke, and "the Prince of *Baden*, will command alterna-"tively, from Day to Day, 'till all the Troops "are join'd, which may be about the latter End "of this Month, and then we ſhall form the "two Armies.

"THE *Elector* of *Bavaria* has repaſs'd the "*Danube*, with all his Troops, and has put "his heavy Baggage into *Ulm*.

"DESERTERS, who come over to our Army, "report unanimouſly, that the *French* Batta-"lions are very weak, notwithſtanding the Re-"cruits they have received; And that Sickneſs

"reigns

" reigns very much among theſe New Comers
" inſomuch that 150 have been buried at *Ulm*,
" in one Week. No Body knows what is be-
" come of the *Elector*'s Chancery, which was
" ſaid to be taken.

I am, *&c.*

A. Cardonnel.

THE Army encamp'd, the 21ſt. between *Launſheim* and *Urping*, and, on the 22d. made a Motion, in Order to join Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, at *Weſterſtetten*, at which Place, the *Right* of his Grace's Camp then lay. Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* having deſired of the Duke a farther Re-inforcement of Troops, for the Security of the *Rhine*, and the Lines of *Stolhoffen*, his Grace, thereupon, ſent Orders to Lieutenant-General *Scholten*, to march to the *Rhine*, with the ſeven Battalions of *Daniſh* Foot, which were coming from the *Maeſe*, and, by this Time, were advanced as far as *Frankfort*, and to receive Orders from his Highneſs. *The Duke joins P.* Lewis *of* Baden.

THERE muſt, about this Time, ſome Overtures have been made, for an Accomodation between the *Emperour*, and the *Elector* of *Bavaria*, the latter having made ſome Demands in Order thereunto, the Subſtance of which were as follows:

SUBSTANCE *of the Demands of the* Elector *of* Bavaria.

Demands of the Elector *of* Bavaria *for an Accommodation.*

" BESIDES the Duchy of *Nienburg*, and the " Marquiſate of *Bourgue*;

1. The *Upper Auſtria.*
2. The County of *Nienburg*, on the *Inn.*

3. For *Koffſtein*, with its Dependances.

4. The four *Imperial* Cities of *Ulm*, *Augſburg*, *Memmingen* and *Ratiſbon*.

5. A Subſidy from *England* and *Holland*, of 100,000 Crowns *per* Month.

6. The Reſtoration of the *Elector* of *Cologne*, with an Indemniſation for all his Loſſes.

" If the *Emperour* ſhould not care to part " with the *Upper Auſtria* and *Koffſtein*, the *E-* " *lector* demands as an Equivalent for them, " all thoſe Countries which are ſituated be- " tween the Mountains of *Tyrol*, the *Iller*, the " *Lech*, and the *Danube* (excepting the Biſhop- " rick of *Augsburg*, and the Abby of *Kempten*) " comprehending the County of *Nellenburg*, " with the four Cities on the *Danube*, belong- " ing to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, *viz. Ellingen*, " *Bitlingen*, &c.

" *N. B.* All theſe to be poſſeſs'd, with a " Sovereign Power, and the Title of King.

Dated, *June* 21, 1704.

If theſe Propoſals were ever offer'd, as the *Baſis* of an Accommodation, they were, without Doubt, treated, as they deſerved, with Scorn.

In the mean Time, the *Elector* of *Bavaria* ſent a conſiderable Detachment, to *Dillingen* and *Lawingen*, with Intent, that upon the Advance of the *Confederate* Army, towards the *Danube*, his whole Army might poſſeſs themſelves of that Camp. The twenty-third, Prince *Lewis* and the Duke, continued in the Camp, near *Launſheim*, to form the Line of Battle; And, the ſame Day, his Grace reviewed the twelve Regiments

Regiments of Foot, which came into those 1704.
Parts, the preceding Year, under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Goor*, with the four Battalions of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*'s Troops, in the Pay of the *States*, which appear'd compleat, and in very good Order. The next Day, the Army march'd from *Launſheim* and *Weſterſtetten*, and encamp'd, with the *Right*, at *Elchingen*, near the *Danube*, and the *Left* at *Languenau*, where they halted three Days; The eight and twentieth, they march'd again, and encamp'd, with the *Right*, at *Herbrecting*, and the *Left*, at *Gingen*, on the River *Brentz*, within two Leagues of the *Elector* of *Bavaria*'s Army, which lay between *Dillingen* and *Lawingen*, with the *Brentz* between the two Armies.

Motions of the United Confederate *Army.*

THE nine and twentieth, the *Engliſh* Foot and Artillery, under the Command of General *Churchill*, who had been joined, in their March, by a Battalion of the King of *Pruſſia*'s Forces, arrived in the Camp, and took their Poſt in the Line, where an Interval had been left for them: So that all the Forces the Duke of *Marlborough* expected, had now join'd him, excepting the *Daniſh* Horſe, which were detach'd after him, from the *Netherlands*. The whole Army then conſiſted of 96 Battalions of Foot, and 202 Squadrons of Horſe and Dragoons, having with them 44 Field-Cannon, 4 *Hawbitzers*, and 24 *Pontons*.

THE ſame Day, the Generals held a Council of War, wherein it was reſolved to draw near *Donawert*; Whereupon, the laſt Day of *June*, the *Confederate* Army march'd from *Gingen*, and *Herbrechting*, and encamp'd, with their *Right*, at *Lanthauſen*, and their *Left*, at *Balmerſhoffen*;

1704 *merſheim:* They march'd ſo near the Enemy's Camp, that Lieutenant-General *Bulau* was ſent out, the Night before, with a Detachment of 2000 Horſe and Dragoons, to ſecure the Avenues, by which they might have diſturb'd the March of the *Allies*, who, by theſe Means, proceeded without any Oppoſition. The Enemy's Army was then computed to conſiſt of 88 Battalions and 160 Squadrons, having 90 Pieces of Cannon, 40 Mortars and *Hawbitzers*, and 30 *Pontons*.

THE firſt of *July*, the *Confederates* continued their March, in Sight of the *Elector* of *Bavaria*'s Army at *Dillingen*, and encamp'd, with their Right, at *Amerdingen*, and their Left, at *Onderingen*. The Camp being pitched, the Duke of *Marlborough*, with a Guard of ſixty Squadrons, advanc'd a little in the Front of his Army, to take a View of the ſtrong Situation of the Enemy, and returning ſoon after, gave the neceſſary Orders for preparing every Thing during the Night, in Order to attack the Enemy's Intrenchments the next Day. Some Officers were of Opinion, that after ſo tireſome a March, the Troops ſhould have ſome Reſt before the Attack; but the Duke would hear of no Delay.

WHILE the Camp was at *Langenau*, Mr. *Cardonnel*, the Duke's Secretary, wrote the following Letter to Monſ. * * * *.

TRAN-

TRANSLATION *of a Letter from Mr.* Cardonnel *to Monſ.* * * * * *at* Zell.

From the Camp at Langenau, *June* 25, 1704.

SIR,

A Letter from Mr. Cardonnel *to Monſ.* * * * * *at* Zell.

" SINCE my laſt, I have been honoured with
" your two Letters of the 12th and 15th
" inſtant, which I read to my Lord Duke, and
" can aſſure you, that His Excellency is en-
" tirely of your Sentiments: He has, likewiſe,
" caus'd all the *Daniſh* Infantry, which was on
" the March to join us, from the *Maeſe*, to
" go to the *Rhine*, to ſerve under Prince *Eu-*
" *gene*, and they may join him, in ſix or ſe-
" ven Days; So that, as we have no News
" of the Motion of the *French*, we are under
" no Apprehenſions of them on that Side. We
" join'd the Prince of *Baden*, two Days ago, and
" there ſeems to be a pretty good Harmony,
" between him and my Lord Duke. Our In-
" fantry, with the Artillery, will join us to
" morrow, at *Gingen*, to which Place we ſhall
" advance, in Order to be nearer the Enemy,
" who are retired, with the greater Part of
" their Troops, to their former Camp of *Law-*
" *ingen*, and *Dillingen*; But they have another
" Body, on the other Side of the *Danube*,
" at *Leipheim*, conſiſting chiefly of Cavalry,
" and they ſeem to be under ſome Conſter-
" nation. I do not ſee, that we can pretend
" to attempt any Thing, 'till we are joined
" by the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, with the *Daniſh*
" Cavalry, who march very ſlowly, notwith-
" ſtanding the re-iterated Orders ſent them by
" My Lord Duke, to make all the Expedi-

tion

" ſion poſſible. He hardly departed from " *Frankfort* till yeſterday, and cannot join us, " in leſs than ſix or ſeven days; Tho' my Lord " Duke diſpatch'd an Expreſs to him yeſterday, " with Orders to leave his heavy Baggage be- " hind him, that he might march with the " greater Diligence. As ſoon as theſe Troops " join us, we ſhall form the two Armies, and, " as far as I can perceive of our Deſigns, My " Lord Duke will march directly to *Donawert*, " to open, by the Taking of that Place, a " free Paſſage for our Army, into *Bavaria*. " It is very probable, as you obſerve, that the " *Elector* will ſoon be attempting to amuſe us " by a Negociation; But I dare venture to " aſſure you, that no ſuch Endeavours will, in " the leaſt ſlacken our Efforts, to reduce Him " to Reaſon, by Force of Arms. The conti- " nual Rains, which have fallen, for a Fort- " night paſt, have very much incommoded " our Infantry, and caus'd ſome Diſtempers " among them: But we ſend our ſick to *Hey-* " *denheim*, where they ſoon recover. As for " our Cavalry, and, in general, all our other " Troops, in the Pay of *England* and *Holland*, " they are in a very good Condition. I reckon " My Lord Duke's Army will conſiſt of about " 50 Battalions, and 80 Squadrons, all very " good Troops; When the Line of Battle is " form'd, I will ſend you a Copy of it. The " Hereditary Prince, and Monſ. *de Spiegel* ſhew " ſome Signs of Diſcontent, and talk of ſerving " as Voluntiers, becauſe they are not advanced; " But I hope it will paſs over.

I am, *&c.*

A. Cardonnel.

P. S.

P. S. "WITH Regard to the General you "mention, I have long ſince had not the beſt "Opinion of him, and cannot alter my Mind "yet; I wiſh I may have Reaſon to do it, be- "fore the End of the Campaign.

WHILE the Duke of *Marlborough* was thus exerting himſelf in the Field, and uſing his utmoſt, I may ſay uncommon, Diligence, for the good of the Common Cauſe, there was not wanting a Set of People in *England*, who being his profeſs'd Enemies, were putting the worſt Conſtruction upon his Actions, and were forming Parties to ruin both his Reputation and Intereſt, if his great Projects, for this Campaign, had miſcarried. I ſhall have Occaſion to ſay more on this Head below: In the mean Time, the following Copies of a Couple of Letters, relating to this Matter, the Originals of which have fallen into my Hands, being dated about this Time, may, not improperly, find Place at the Concluſion of this Chapter. *The Duke of* Marlb. *traduced at home.*

COPY *of a Letter, from the Lord* Stamford *to Monſ.* **** *at* Zell.

June 2. 1704.

SIR,

"THO' I am ſorry to find by yours of "the third Inſtant, that five of our "Mails came to you together; Becauſe my "Letters were by that, delay'd, and that eſpe- "cially to Her Royal Highneſs, the *Electrice*; "Yet ſince She will have it, and is too good a "Judge to impute it to my Neglect, I cannot "but be pleaſed, it eſcaped the Fare, that of "the 25th of the ſame Month met with, which *A Letter from the Lord* Stamford *to Monſ.* **** *at* Zell.

"was

1704. was taken by the *French*. That you have " mine, and ſo good an Account of our Pro- " ceedings in *Parliament*, and that they are ſo " highly approved, and rightly underſtood, " does very much rejoice me. I can aſſure " you, it has been a very great Mortification " to the Party to be ſo croſs'd and expos'd: " When nothing could ſtand againſt them in " the *Houſe of Commons*.

" I MUST own, your Reaſonings, upon the " Changes at Court, to be the ſame with our " moſt judicious honeſt Men here, that is, to " be very Chimerical, and will not, in all " human Probability, attain the Ends aimed at, " but may have a contrary Effect: Whatever " My Lord *Marlborough* does abroad (which, " for the ſake of *Europe*, I heartily wiſh may " be well) Yet his Foundation being rotten " here, and his not encreaſing his Friends, may " exaſperate his Enemies to that Height, that " it may puſh them on beyond the Rules and " Meaſures, which have been kept amongſt " them hitherto. You know, when two Sets " of People agree in a third Deſign, tho' they " perſonally hate one another, and have ſtill " concurr'd in the Main, to prevent a third " reaping any Benefit; Yet ſuch Things may " be done, that may occaſion an entire Breach, " that ſo thoſe Rules may be no more thought " of. This I look upon to be our Caſe. My " Lord *Jerſey* being out, has diſcovered ſuch " Things, that rather occaſion Contempt and " Railing, than any Sort of Pity; Which I " believe will be out of the Power of Mr. " *Prior*'s Poetry or Eloquence to allay. Alas " poor Man, he is himſelf at low Ebb! — " Believe me to be, *&c.* *Stamford.*

AN

AN *Engliſh* Gentleman, then at the Court of *Hannover*, in a Letter to a Gentleman of Note in the Court of another Prince of *Germany*, dated the eighteenth of *June*, has the following remarkable Paſſage on this Occaſion:

A Letter from an Eng. Gentleman at Hannover.

" I AM ſure, that there is a greater Party " forming againſt My Lord Treaſurer and My " Lord *Marlborough*, than ever there was a- " gainſt King *William*'s Miniſters, and what " the Conſequence may be, I cannot tell. " Affairs will yet go worſe, if their Enemies " prevail; but much will depend upon My " Lord's Succeſs in *Germany*, and *no King could* " *wiſh for a more noble Opportunity to* RELIEVE " *not only* GERMANY, *but* EUROPE, *than* " *this that he is employed upon, or that could* " *be more Glorious for himſelf.* If the *Elector* " of *Bavaria* is reduc'd, it will ſtop the " Mouths of his Enemies, and they will not " be able to hurt him, in *England*; But if " he fails, he will be railed at in *Holland*, and " accuſed in *England*, for the Loſs he muſt " ſuffer in ſuch an Expedition, and I much " apprehend the Conſequence every where.

AND, in another Letter, to the ſame Perſon, of the 25th of *June*, this Gentleman ſays: " My Lord *Marlborough* has joined the Troops " under Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, not far from " *Ulm*, and the Succeſs of this Affair will " either gain him a great Reputation, and " very much ſhelter him from his Enemies " (which are not few) or be his Ruin.

IF this was the Caſe, the Duke ſtood a very tickliſh Chance, at that Time; For tho', beyond all Doubt, his Enterprizes were grounded upon

upon Reaſon, and formed with the moſt mature Judgment; yet ſo many Things might have occaſioned their Miſcarriage, that I ſhudder at the Thoughts of what might probably have been the Conſequence, with Regard to the Duke, had they turn'd out otherwiſe than ſucceſsfully.

In another Letter of the fifth of *July*, the ſame Gentleman has the following Paſſages:

Extract of another Letter from the ſame Gentleman.

"There is no Doubt, but a very great "deal depends upon the Succeſs that My "Lord *Marlborough* will have in *Germany*, and "I wiſh him the beſt Succeſs; but I muſt tell "you, that both he, and My Lord Treaſurer, "have very much provok'd all thoſe, who "are for the Succeſſion, by their never doing "any one Thing, that declared to the "World, that they were againſt the Prince "of *Wales*.

"I am of your Opinion to ſupport them, "by all our Friends, and when the Campaign "is over, I will do any Thing towards it, "that they deſerve, before the *Parliament* "meets. I muſt ſay, that I think they have "acted a more nice than wiſe Game, and "committed very groſs Faults.

The Gentleman who wrote the above Letter, whom I had the Honour to know particularly, both in Proſperity, and when Fortune frown'd on him, did not want a diſcerning Judgment: But, I muſt confeſs, I ſhould be very much at a Loſs, were I put to point out theſe Faults, he thinks ſo groſs.

1704

CHAP. VI.

THE *Forcing of the Enemy's Intrenchments at* Schellenberg: *With the Succeſſes which immediately enſued.*

THE *Elector* of *Bavaria*, judging rightly, from the Duke's March, that he intended to attack *Donawert*, ſent a conſiderable Detachment of his beſt Troops, to re-inforce Count *d'Arco*, who was poſted at *Schellenberg*, a riſing Ground, near that Place, on the *North* Side, where he had already caſt up great Intrenchments, and employ'd ſome Thouſands of Pioneers, for ſeveral Days, to perfect thoſe Works, which cover *Donawert*, on that Point between the Rivers *Brentz* and *Danube*; But notwithſtanding that great Advantage, the Duke of *Marlborough* reſolved to drive the Enemy from that important Poſt. Accordingly, the neceſſary Orders being given to the Army, his Grace advanced, the ſecond of *July*, at three in the Morning, with a Detachment of 6000 Foot, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Goor*, and thirty Squadrons of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Cavalry, beſides three Battalions of *Imperial* Grenadiers: The Reſt of the Army, under Prince *Lewis*, following, with all poſſible Diligence; but the Way being very bad and long, the Detachment led by his Grace, could not come to the River *Werntz* (or *Wernitz*) which runs by *Donawert*, till about Noon, and it was three of the Clock, before the Bridges were finiſh'd, that they could get over that River, with their Artillery. *The Fight at* Schellenberg, *near* Donawert.

1704. THE Duke having paſs'd the ſame, at the Head of the Cavalry, about five o' Clock, rode up as near to the Intrenchments, as was neceſſary, and, having view'd them, made the neceſſary Diſpoſition for the Attack. In the mean Time, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Artillery began to thunder againſt the Enemy; who anſwered it briſkly from their Batteries, for about an Hour, and made it judg'd, by their Diſpoſitions, that the Action would be very hot.

THESE Preparations being over, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Foot, ſupported by the Horſe and Dragoons, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Goor*, and Brigadier *Ferguſon*, began the Attack, with unparallel'd Valour and Intrepidity, before the *Imperialiſts* came up, and met with ſuch a vigorous Defence, that, having the greateſt Part of the Enemy's Forces to deal with, they were twice repulſed; but, after an Engagement of near an Hour and a half, the *Imperialiſts* being by that Time come up, the *Imperial* Cavalry broke into the Intrenchments, and the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, breaking in, about the ſame Time, the *Confederates* made a terrible Slaughter of the Enemy, purſuing them to the very *Danube*, where a great Part of them follow'd the Example of Count *d'Arco*, and other General Officers, who ſaved themſelves by ſwimming over that River. They took ſixteen Pieces of the Enemy's Cannon, with all their Ammunition, Tents, and Baggage, and thirteen Colours, beſides Count *d'Arco*'s Plate, with other rich Booty, which was diſtributed among the victorious Soldiers.

The Enemy's Intrenchments forced.

A rich Booty taken, and diſtributed among the Soldiers.

ALL the *Confederate* Troops, that engag'd, behaved themſelves with a great deal of Bravery and Reſolution, and the Horſe and Dragoons

goons ſhar'd the Glory of the Day with the Infantry: But the firſt Attack being begun by a Battalion of the *Engliſh* Foot-Guards, and the Regiments of *Orkney* and *Ingoldſby*, they ſuffer'd more than any others. It is to be recorded, to the Immortal Glory of the Lord *Mordaunt*, only Son to the Earl of *Peterborough*, that a Detachment of fifty Grenadiers, of *Engliſh* Guards, which he led on to the Attack, he eſcaped unhurt, with only ten of his Men. The Forces of the Enemy conſiſted of two Battalions of the *Elector*'s Life-Guard, one of Grenadiers, thirteen other *Bavarian* Battalions, five *French*, four Regiments of Cuiraſſiers, of 800 Men each, and three Squadrons of Dragoons, making in all about 18,000 (ſome Accounts make them 32,000) Men, all choice Troops, commanded by Count *d'Arco*, Field-Marſhal of the *Elector* of *Bavaria*'s Forces, Lieutenant-General *Lutzemburg*, and Count *Maffey*, Generals of Battalia, beſides two *French* Lieutenant-Generals. The Duke of *Marlborough* gain'd great Honour in this Action, giving his Orders with the greateſt Preſence of Mind imaginable, and expoſing his Perſon to the greateſt Danger. Nor was Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* wanting, in performing the Part of a brave and great General. The Loſs of the Enemy, kill'd, wounded, Priſoners, and deſerted, was computed at 5000 (ſome Accounts ſay 6000) Men; nor was that of the *Confederates* much leſs, which, however, was abundantly made up, by the gaining ſo compleat a Victory, as gave them a free Entrance into the Duke of *Bavaria*'s Country, and forc'd that *Elector* to retire under the Cannon of *Augsburg*. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, General *Thungen*, the Hereditary 1704.

1704. tary Prince of *Heſſe Caſſel*, Prince *Alexander* of *Wirtemberg*, the Prince of *Saxony*, Count *Horn*, Lieutenant-General, the Major-Generals *Wood* and *Palland*, and Brigadier *Bedmar* were ſlightly wounded: Lieutenant-General *Goor*, the Prince of *Homburg*, the Prince of *Beveren*, the Counts *van Erbach*, and *Schulemburg*, and Major-General *Beinheim* were killed, and Count *Stirum* died, not many Days after, of his Wounds.

Donawert abandon'd. THE next Day, the *Bavarian* Garriſon quitted *Donawert*, upon the Approach of the *Confederates*, and broke down the Bridges: But had not Time to deſtroy their Ammunition and Proviſions, as they had intended.

A Deſcription of that Place. DONAWERT is a City of *Germany*, on the Confines of *Suabia*, *Neuburg*, and *Bavaria*, once *Imperial*, ſituate on the River *Danube*, 25 Miles *North* of *Augſburg*, 17 *Weſt* of *Neuburg*, and 44 *North-Eaſt* of *Ulm*.

THE *Elector* of *Bavaria* no ſooner heard of the Defeat of his Troops, than he repaſs'd the *Danube* with the utmoſt Precipitation, and march'd towards the *Lech*.

A Neglect of the French. THE Neglect of the Officer, who commanded in *Donawert*, made this Conqueſt the more eaſy; for he might have put the three Battalions, which were in that Place, in the covered Way, that join'd the *Left* of the Intrenchment; and, as the *Allies* made their firſt Attack, on that Side, he might have gaul'd them terribly, from that Poſt. *French* Writers lay great Streſs upon this Neglect, as the Occaſion of their Misfortune; and Count *d'Arco*, the *Bavarian* General, in his Letter to the *Elector*, attributes it ſolely and wholly thereunto.

DURING the whole time of the Action, the *Confederates* ſtood to their Arms, in a Readineſs, either

either to aſſiſt the Aſſailants, if Occaſion had required, or to oppoſe the *Bavarian* Army, if they had attempted any thing againſt the Camp, in the mean Time; and the whole Army, excepting thoſe Troops that had been employ'd in the Attack, reſted on their Arms all Night. 1704.

THE next Day, the Duke of *Marlborough* gave an Account of this important and victorious Action to the *States General*, in a Letter, of which the following is a Tranſlation.

LETTER *from the Duke of* Marlborough, *to their* High *and* Mightineſſes, *dated from the Camp at* Ubermargen, July 3, 1704.

HIGH *and* MIGHTY LORDS,

The Duke of Marlborough's *Letter to the* States General.

" UPON our Arrival at *Onderingen*, on " *Tueſday*, I underſtood, that the *Elector* " of *Bavaria* had detach'd the beſt of his " Foot, to guard the Poſt at *Schellenberg*, where " he had been caſting up Intrenchments for " ſome Days, becauſe it was of great Import- " ance; therefore I reſolved to attack him " there; and march'd, Yeſterday Morning, by " three o' Clock, at the Head of a Detach- " ment of 6000 Foot, and thirty Squadrons of " our Troops, and three Battalions of *Impe-* " *rial* Grenadiers; whereupon the Army begun " their March, to follow us: But the Way be- " ing very long and bad, we could not get to " the River *Wernitz*, till about Noon, and " it was full three o' Clock before we could " lay Bridges, for tranſporting our Troops " and Cannons; So that all Things being rea- " dy, we attack'd them about ſix in the Even-

1704. " ing. The Attack laſted a full Hour; the " Enemies defended themſelves very vigorouſ- " ly, and were very ſtrongly entrench'd; but, at " laſt, were obliged to retire, by the Valour " of our Men, and the Good GOD has given " us a compleat Victory.

" WE have taken fifteen Cannons, with all " their Tents and Baggage: The Count *d'Arco*, " and the other Generals that commanded " them, were obliged to ſave themſelves by " ſwimming over the *Danube*. I heartily wiſh " your *High* and *Mightineſſes* good Succeſs " from this happy Beginning, which is ſo " glorious for the Arms of the *Allies*, and from " which, I hope, by the Aſſiſtance of HEAVEN, " we may reap many Advantages. We have " loſt very many brave Officers, and we can- " not enough bewail the Loſs of the *Heern* " *Goor*, and *Beinheim*, who were killed in the " Action. The Prince of *Baden* and General " *Thungen* are ſlightly wounded, Count *Sti-* " *rum* has received a Wound a-croſs his Bo- " dy, but, 'tis hoped, he will recover. The " Hereditary Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, Count " *Horn*, a Lieutenant-General, and Major- " General *Wood*, and the Heer *Palland*, are " alſo wounded. I can, at preſent, give " your *High* and *Mightineſſes* no more Par- " ticulars; but will not fail to do it the " firſt Opportunity.

" A LITTLE before the Attack begun, " the Baron of *Moltenburg*, Adjutant-General " to Prince *Eugene*, was ſent to me, by his " Highneſs, with Advice, that the Marſhals " *de Villeroy*, and *Tallard*, were march'd to " *Straſburg*, having promis'd a great Re-in- " forcement to the *Elector* of *Bavaria*, by

" Way

" Way of the *Black Foreſt*: And I had Ad- 1704.
" vice, by another Hand, that they deſign'd
" to ſend him fifty Battalions, and ſixty Squa-
" drons, of their beſt Troops. Since I was
" Witneſs how much the Heer *Mortagne* di-
" ſtinguiſh'd himſelf, in this whole Action, I
" could not omit doing him the Juſtice, to
" recommend him to your *High* and *Mighti-*
" *neſſes*, to make up to him the Loſs of his
" General; wherefore I have pitch'd upon him,
" to bring this to your *High* and *Mightineſſes*,
" and to inform you of the Particulars.

I remain, &c.

Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

P. S. " The Detachment above-ſaid, was
" ſupported by fifteen Battalions from the
" *Left*, and as many from the *Right*.

GENERAL *Hompeſch* gave likewiſe an Account of this Action, in a Letter to the *States*, which as it not only confirms the above, and contains ſome Circumſtances, not mention'd before, and does great Honour to our General, I ſhall add:

HIGH *and* MIGHTY LORDS,

A Letter from General Hompeſch, to the States-General.

" I CANNOT omit giving you an Account of
" the Advantage we have gain'd, by the
" Bleſſing of GOD, over our Enemies, at *Do-*
" *nawert*; and ſending the *Aid de Camp*, who
" was with me, upon this Occaſion, to give
" Your *High Mightineſſes* a more ſatisfactory
" Relation of the Particulars.

1704. "OUR Army march'd Yeſterday, from *Amerdingen* (which lies ſix Miles from *Donawert*) And, altho' we had march'd two or three Days ſucceſſively, and had not Time before, to clear the Roads; Nevertheleſs, by the Diligence and Care of the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Army made, the ſame Day, the intended March, and paſs'd it Yeſterday, at *Ubermargen*, by the River *Wernitz*. The Cavalry and Dragoons paſs'd upon a Bridge, and by a Ford, and we made Uſe of *Pontons*, which we brought with us, to make another Bridge, upon which the Infantry paſs'd with all Expedition. The *Van-Guard*, where my Lord Duke was in Perſon, with the Hereditary Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, Lieutenant General *Lumley*, my ſelf, Generals *Bonaſan* and *Wood*, the Prince of *Homburg*, the Count *d'Erbach*, and Monſ. *Schulemburg*, was compos'd of 32 Squadrons.

"THE Infantry, conſiſting of 5850 Men, were led, according to the Duke's Order, by Lieutenant-General *Goor*, and 30 Battalions, under Lieutenant-General *Horn*, who had with him the Major-Generals *Withers*, *Luyck*, *Pollard* and *Beinheim*, with Orders to ſupport them.

"THE Cavalry having paſs'd the River, the Duke of *Marlborough* took them with him, to view, as near as poſſible, the Enemy's Camp and Intrenchments. The Infantry, being arriv'd, on the other Side of the River, and ready for the Attack, march'd before the Cavalry; and was led to the Attack by Lieutenant-General *Goor*, ſupported by the reſt of the Foot, which the Duke of *Marlborough* had order'd to re-inforce him,

"under

" under the Command of Lieutenant-General 1704.
" *Horn.* The whole was follow'd and ſup-
" ported, by the aforeſaid 32 Squadrons.

" THE Attack being thus diſpos'd, the
" *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Troops drew nearer the
" Intrenchments, having, on one Side the
" Town, and, on the other, a Wood. They,
" and the Enemy, cannonaded each other about
" an Hour, whilſt they waited the coming up
" of the *Imperialiſts*. As ſoon as they arriv'd,
" the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* began the Attack with
" great Vigour, and the Enemy defended them-
" ſelves with Abundance of Bravery. The
" *Imperialiſts* advanced as expeditiouſly as they
" could, in good Order; and the Prince of
" *Baden* having alſo attack'd them, the In-
" trenchments were forc'd, after a very ſtubborn
" Fight, of about an Hour and a half. The
" Dragoons were at the Head, to ſuſtain the
" Infantry, under the Command of the Here-
" ditary Prince of *Heſſe*, and he continued ex-
" poſ'd to the Enemy's Fire, 'till he was
" wounded in the Side. Lieutenant-General
" *Lumley*, and my ſelf, with General *Wood*, the
" Prince of *Homburg*, Count *d'Erbach*, and
" Monſ. *Schulemburg* commanded the Cavalry.
" Lieutenant-General *Goor* (who commanded
" the Infantry) was kill'd, and alſo Major-
" General *Beinheim*.

" THOSE who are wounded, among the
" Infantry, are Lieutenant-General *Horn*, in
" the Leg, Major-General *Palland*, in the
" Groin (without Danger) and Brigadier *Tobias*
" in the Belly. Thoſe that are wounded, a-
" mong the Cavalry, are the Hereditary Prince
" of *Heſſe-Caſſel* and General *Wood*. The
" Count *d'Erbach* had one Horſe kill'd, and
" another

1704. " another wounded. The Prince of *Saxony* is " wounded in the Arm (without Danger) and " Brigadier *Bedmar*. Of the *Imperialiſts*, the " Prince of *Baden* is wounded in the Foot; " He had alſo a Horſe kill'd. Count *Stirum* " has had a Shot croſs his Body. The Velt- " Marſhal *Thungen* is wounded in the Hand; " Prince *Alexander* of *Wirtemberg* is wounded " in the Leg; And the Prince of *Beveren*, a " Major-General, is kill'd.

" As ſoon as we have a Liſt of the Officers " and Soldiers kill'd and wounded, I ſhall not " fail to give Your *High Mightineſſes* an Ac- " count thereof. I conjecture we have about " 6 or 700 Men kill'd (*of the* Dutch *only, I* " *preſume he means*) and 1000 dangerouſly " wounded. The Duke of *Marlborough* gave " Orders, throughout the whole Action, with " the greateſt Prudence and Preſence of Mind. " The Prince of *Baden*, every Body muſt own, " has done all that could be expected, from a " great and brave General; So far, that we " owe him, upon this Occaſion, all poſſible " Praiſe and Honour.

I am, *&c.*

R. V. Baron Van Hompeſch.

P. S. *We have taken* 16 *Braſs Field-Pieces, the greateſt of them Six-Pounders, and thirteen of the Enemy's Colours.*

By one Part of this Letter, it would almoſt ſeem, as if the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* did not begin the Attack, 'till the *Imperialiſts* came up; But the Fact (as I have been inform'd by an Offi-

cer

ger, who was preſent) was this. The *Engliſh* and *Dutch* began, on the *Left*, half an Hour before the *Imperialiſts* could come up to fall on the *Right*. And the Enemy's Forces being almoſt all employ'd againſt the former, the latter found but little Reſiſtance. 1704.

THE *French*, tho' they could not deny the *Confederates* the Honour of this Victory, endeavour'd to leſſen the Advantage of it, by pretending their Works were not near finiſh'd, and exaggerating the Loſs of Men and Officers this Action coſt the *Allies*. The *Allies* (ſay their Writers) tho' we loſt but 1000 Men, in the Action, had 6000 Men kill'd, in their ſeveral Attacks, and a far greater Number wounded, and ſome of their Regiments were almoſt entirely cut off. Several of their Generals were kill'd or wounded, and the Count *de Stirum* died of his Wounds after the Battle. In the former Part of their Account, they go exceedingly beyond the Truth. But for the latter, it is certain, the *Confederates* loſt a great Number of brave Officers; And, indeed, it could not naturally be otherwiſe, in ſo deſperate an Attempt. What the *Engliſh*, in particular, ſuffer'd, the Reader will ſee by the following Liſt. French *Account of the Loſs on both Sides.*

The Liſt of the Engliſh, *kill'd or wounded, at* Schellenberg, *as the reſpective Colonels delivered it to the Duke of* Marlborough, *is as followeth.*

FOOT.

OF the Foot Guards, Lieut. Col. *Blount*, Capt. *Raleigh*, Capt. *Weſt*, Quarter-Maſter *Bibey*, kill'd. Lieut. Col. *Primroſe*, Lieut. Col. *Farrars*, *Liſt of the* Engliſh *kill'd and wounded in this Action.*

1704. *Farrars*, Capt. *Adams*, Capt. *Pocock*, Enſ. *Smith*, Enſ. *Pearſon*, Enſ. *Rich*, Enſ. *Denys Pulolas*, wounded. Sergeants, kill'd 7, wounded 8. Centinels kill'd 75, wounded 127.

GENERAL *Churchill's* Regiment, Enſ. *Harriſon*, Enſ. *Caldicut*, kill'd. Centinels kill'd 3, wounded 37.

OF the Earl of *Orkney*'s firſt Battalion of *Scotch Royal*, Capt. *Murray*, Enſ. *Mac Dugal*, Enſ. *Mac Ilroy*, kill'd. Col. *White*, Major *Cockburn*, Capt. *Hume*, Capt. *Irwinn*, Capt. *Brown*, Lieut. *Kid*, Lieut. *Balatine*, Enſ. *Stratton*, Enſ. *Cunningham*, Enſ. *Stuart*, wounded. Sergeants kill'd 1, wounded 3. Centinels kill'd 38, wounded 103.

OF the Earl of *Orkney*'s ſecond Battalion, Capt. *Bailey*, Lieut. *Levingſton* kill'd. Major *Kerr*, Capt. *Carr*, Lieut. *Pearſon*, Lieut. *Moor*, Lieut. *Vernel*, Lieut. *Hay*, Lieut. *Dickſon*, Lieut. *Hamilton*, Enſ. *White*, Enſ. *Mac Queen*, Enſ. *Mac Onway*, Enſ. *Moremere*, Enſ. *Elliot*, Enſ. *Inglis*, Enſ. *Moor*, wounded. Sergeants kill'd 1, wounded 12. Centinels kill'd 76, wounded 184.

OF the Lord *North* and *Gray*'s Regiment, Capt. *Croy*, kill'd. Sergeants wounded 3. Centinels kill'd 13, wounded 36.

OF Brigadier *Wells*'s Regiment, Enſ. *Savage*, kill'd. Enſ. *Bezier*, Enſ. *Maſon*, wounded. Sergeants wounded 2. Centinels kill'd 5, wounded 31.

OF the Earl of *Darby*'s Regiment, Major *Mordaunt*, Enſ. *Charleton*, kill'd. Lieut. Col. *Hamilton*, Capt. *Coghlan*, Enſ. *Key*, wounded, Sergeants kill'd 1, wounded 1. Centinels kill'd, 19, wounded 34.

OF

OF Brigadier *Hamilton*'s Regiment, Capt. *Lee*, Enſ. *Gillman*, Enſ. *Walſh*, Enſ. *Penſant*, wounded. Sergeants kill'd 1, wounded 3. Centinels kill'd 11, wounded 32. 1704.

OF Brigadier *How*'s Regiment, Capt. *Bolton*, Capt. *Leſley*, Lieut. *Morris*, wounded. Sergeants kill'd 1, wounded 3. Centinels kill'd 9, wounded 19.

OF Brigadier *Row*'s Regiment, Capt. *Rygoe*, Lieut. *Johnſton*, Lieut. *John Cambell* wounded.

OF Brigadier *Ferguſon*'s Regiment, Capt. *Lawſon*, Lieut. *Seaton*, wounded. Sergeants kill'd 1, wounded 3. Centinels kill'd 18, wounded 57.

OF Lieut. General *Ingoldſby*'s Regiment, Capt. *Harman*, Capt. *Ogilvy*, Lieut. *Frazier*, Lieut. *Agan*, Lieut. *Price*, kill'd. Col. *Sabin*, Lieut. Col. *Jones*, Major *Ingoldſby*, Capt. *Eyme*, Lieut. *Jeverau*, Lieut. *Patrick*, Lieut. *Richards*, Lieut. *Cadroy*, Lieut. *Piggot*, Lieut. *Aldy*, Lieut. *Jones*, wounded. Sergeants kill'd 6, wounded 6. Centinels kill'd 60, wounded 156.

OF the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Regiment, Capt. *Powell* kill'd, Capt. *Bally*, Lieut. *Stapleton*, Lieut. *Wally*, Lieut. *Gardiner*, wounded. Sergeants kill'd 1. Centinels kill'd 28, wounded 44.

OF Col. *Meredith*'s Regiment, Lieut. *Cornwal*, Lieut. *Boukam*, Enſ. *Billing*, Enſ. *Jackſon* kill'd. Col. *Meredith*, Lieut. *Cairns*, Lieut. *Neale*, Lieut. *Biron*, Lieut. *Scutnerby*, Enſ. *Welſh*, Enſ. *Onſlow*, Enſ. *Wood*, Enſ. *Ogilby*, Enſ. *Kent*, wounded; Sergeants kill'd, 1. wounded 3. Centinels kill'd 18, wounded 57.

1704.

DRAGOONS.

OF the Lord *Haye*'s Regiment, Capt. *Douglas* kill'd. Capt. *Young*, Lieut. *Maltary*, wounded. Private Men, kill'd 7, wounded 17.

OF Brigadier *Roſs*'s Regiment, Major *Caldwell*, Cornet *Hamilton* wounded. Private Men kill'd 4, wounded 19.

HORSE.

OF the five Regiments of Horſe, Capt. *Carrington*, Adjutant *Skelton*, kill'd. Major-Gen. *Wood*, Col. *Palmer*, Major *Napper*, Lieut. *Tettefolle*, Lieut. *Kyrle*, Cornet *Charles Lawes*, Cornet *Ward*, Cornet *Clarke*, wounded. Private Men kill'd 13, wounded 53.

MR. *Oglethorp*, Adjutant to the Duke of *Marlborough*, received a Piſtol Shot, thro' the Leg, and had a Contuſion on one of his Thighs, by a Muſquet Shot, and is ſince Dead of his Wounds.

TOTAL of Officers kill'd 29, wounded 86; of Sergeants and private Men, kill'd 407, wounded 1031.

AN Officer, then in the Army, has given us the following Liſt of the Kill'd and Wounded, in this Action:

Lieu-

LVD·WILH·M·BADEN·ET CAES·GEN·LOC·

HOSTE CAESO·FVGATO·CASTRIS DIREPTIS
AD SCHELLENBERGAM
DONAWERDAM
1704

	Kill'd	Wound.
Lieutenant-Generals	6	5
Major-Generals	2	2
Brigadiers	0	1
Colonels	4	7
Lieutenant-Colonels	7	9
Majors	3	15
Captains	26	62
Subalterns	46	181
Soldiers	1329	3599
	1423	3981
		1493
Total kill'd and wounded,		5474

1704.

THE *Dutch*, on this Occaſion, ſtruck a Medal, on the Face of which is a *Buſto* of Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*; (*Tho' they might, with much greater Propriety, as well as Juſtice, have put that of the Duke of* Marlborough; On the Reverſe is repreſented the Intrenchments of *Schellenberg*, and a Plan of the City of *Donawert*, the Antiquity of which is denoted by an antient Man leaning on an Urn, to ſignify, at the ſame Time, the *Danube*, on which River it is ſituate; With the following Inſcription, continued on the *Exergue*. *A Medal ſtruck on this Occaſion.*

HOSTE CÆSO, FUGATO, CASTRIS DIREPTIS, AD SCHELLENBERGAM DONAVERDAM, 1704.

THE *Enemy defeated, put to Flight, and their Camp plunder'd, at* Schellenberg, *near* Donawert, 1704.

1704. THE Great Mr. *Addiſon* gives us the following Poetical Deſcription of this bold Action in his incomparable Poem, call'd the *Campaign*:

An Extract from Mr. Addiſon's *Campaign.*

THE March concludes, the various Realms are paſt,
Th' Immortal *Schellenberg* appears at laſt:
Like Hills th' aſpiring Ramparts riſe on high,
Like Vallies, at their Feet, the Trenches ly;
Batt'ries on Batt'ries guard each fatal Paſs,
Threat'ning Deſtruction; Rows of hollow Braſs,
Tube behind Tube, the dreadful Entrance keep,
Whilſt in their Wombs Ten Thouſand Thunders ſleep:
Great *Churchill* owns, charm'd with the glorious Sight,
His March o'er-paid, by ſuch a promis'd Fight.
THE *Weſtern* Sun now ſhot a feeble Ray,
And faintly ſcatter'd the Remains of Day,
Ev'ning approach'd; But oh! what Hoſts of Foes
Were never to behold that Ev'ning cloſe!
Thick'ning their Ranks, and wedg'd in firm Array,
The cloſe compacted *Britons* wing their Way;
In vain the Cannon their throng'd War defac'd
With Tracts of Death, and laid the Battle waſte;
Still preſſing forward to the Fight, they broke
Thro' Flames of Sulphur, and a Night of Smoak;
'Till ſlaughter'd Legions fill'd the Trench below,
And bore their fierce Avengers to the Foe.
HIGH on the Works, the mingling Hoſts engage;
The Battle, kindled into Tenfold Rage,
With Show'rs of Bullets, and with Storms of Fire,
Burns in full Fury, Heaps on Heaps expire;

Nations

Nations with Nations mix'd confus'dly dy, 1704.
Lost in one promiscuous Carnage lie.
How many gen'rous *Britons* meet their Doom,
New to the Field, and *Heroes* in the Bloom!
Th' illustrious Youths, that left their Native Shoar,
To march where *Britons* never march'd before.
(O Fatal Love of Fame! O Glorious Heat,
Only Destructive to the Brave and Great!)
After such Toils o'ercome, such Dangers past,
Stretch'd on *Bavarian* Ramparts breath their last.
But hold, my Muse, may no Complaints appear,
Nor blot the Day with an ungrateful Tear:
While *Marlbro'* lives, *Britannia*'s Stars dispense
A friendly Light, and shine in Innocence.
Plunging thro' Seas of Blood his fiery Steed,
Where-e'er his Friends retire, or Foes succeed;
Those he supports, these drives to sudden Flight,
And turns the various Fortune of the Fight.
FORBEAR, Great Man, Renown'd in Arms, forbear,
To brave the thickest Terrors of the War;
Nor hazard thus, confus'd in Crowds of Foes,
Britannia's Safety, and the World's Repose;
Let Nations, anxious for thy Life, abate
This Scorn of Danger, and Contempt of Fate:
Thou liv'st not for thy-self: Thy Queen demands
Conquest and Peace, from thy victorious Hands;
Kingdoms and Empires in thy Fortune join,
And *Europe*'s Destiny depends on Thine.
AT Length the long-disputed Pass they gain,
By crowded Armies fortified in vain;
The War breaks in, the fierce *Bavarians* yield,
And see their Camp with *British* Legions fill'd.
So *Belgian* Mounds bear on their shatter'd Sides
The Sea's whole Weight, encreas'd with swelling Tides.

1704. But if the ruſhing Wave a Paſſage finds,
Enrag'd by watry Moons, and warring Winds,
The trembling Peaſant ſees his Country round
Cover'd with Tempeſts, and in Oceans drown'd.
THE few ſurviving Foes diſpers'd in Flight,
(Refuſe of Swords, and Gleanings of a Fight)
In ev'ry ruffling Wind the Victor hear,
And *Marlbro's* Form in every Shadow fear,
'Till the dark Cope of Night, with kind Embrace,
Befriends the Rout, and covers their Diſgrace.

The Elector *of* Bavaria *quits his Advantageous Camp.*

THE *Elector* of *Bavaria* (*as I have ſaid above*) was no ſooner informed of the Defeat of his Troops at *Schellenberg*, than he quitted his advantageous Camp, between *Dillingen* and *Lawingen*, and came to the other Side of the *Danube*, over-againſt *Donawert*, the third, in his March to the Liver *Lech*, to prevent the *Confederates* cutting off his Retreat to his own Country. The ſame Night, he ſent Orders, to his Garriſon at *Donawert*, to ſet Fire to the Town, to burn their Bridges and Magazines, and then to retire; For which End, they had put Straw in every Houſe; But the *Confederates* being advanced into the Suburbs, and laying their Bridge to paſs into the Town, the Garriſon durſt not ſtay, for fear of having their Retreat cut off, and, therefore, preferr'd their own Safety, before the Execution of their Maſter's cruel Orders, by which Means, the Townſmen ſaved their Houſes. The Enemy burnt only their Bridges, and ſome Magazines, and retired, in great Haſte, early the next Day. At the ſame Time, the *Confederates* entered the Town, without any Oppoſition, and found in it 2000 Sacks of Meal, great Store of Oats, and

Donawert *taken by the* Confederates;

With a conſiderable Booty.

and all Sorts of Provisions and Ammunition, which the Enemy had not Time to destroy. 1704.

THIS Day, the Duke of *Marlborough* wrote another Letter to the *States General*, with an Account of this farther Success; but as it contains nothing but what I have already mention'd, I pass it by.

Farther Motions of the Confederate Army.

THE whole *Confederate* Army pass'd the *Danube*, the fifth of *July*, over several Bridges of *Pontons*, made for that Purpose, near *Donawert*, and encamp'd at *Mertingen*, in the *Elector* of *Bavaria*'s Country, his Army being retired, to the other Side of the *Lech*, and having entrench'd themselves under the Cannon of *Augsburg*. The sixth was observed, by the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Orders, as a Day of Thanksgiving for the late Victory, throughout his whole Army; And Prince *Lewis* also directed *Te Deum* to be sung, on this Occasion, in his Camp, and in all the Towns adjoining. The *Danish* Horse, commanded by the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, encamp'd, the fifth, on the *Schellenberg*, and having passed the *Danube*, on the sixth, marched to the Ground appointed for them in the Camp, where Count *Palfi* arrived the same Day with a Compliment from Prince *Eugene* to the Duke of *Marlborough*.

Prince Eugene sends a Compliment to the Duke, on his Victory.

The Duke improves his Advantage.

THE Duke, whose constant Custom it was, to make the most of every Advantage, was resolved to improve this, and to pursue the Enemy, before they recovered out of the Consternation they were under. He, therefore, ordered the Count *de Frize*, with a Detachment of 4,000 Men, and twelve Pieces of Cannon, to prepare Bridges to pass over the *Lech*, at *Kinderkingen*, which were finished the same Evening, without any Opposition from the Enemy. The Detach-

1704. ment, thereupon, immediately march'd over, and took Poſt in the Country of *Bavaria*, where they were re-inforced, the eighth, in the After-noon, by 6000 Men more. The whole Army march'd, at the ſame Time, and encamp'd, with the *Right*, at *Hamler*, and the *Left*, at *Kinderkingen*, near the River. Upon the firſt Notice of our Troops having begun to paſs the *Lech*, the Garriſon of *Neuburg* abandon'd that Place, and retired to *Ingolſtadt*. A Detachment was, hereupon, ſent, by the Duke of *Marlborough*, to take Poſſeſſion of *Neuburg*, and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* order'd General *Herbeville*, who commanded a ſeparate Body of between 3 or 4000 Men, on the other Side of the *Danube*, to remain there, for the Security of a Place of ſo much Importance, for the drawing of Proviſions out of *Franconia*, to ſubſiſt the *Confederate* Army, while they continued in *Bavaria*.

Takes Poſt in the Elector *of* Bavaria's *Country.*

Neuburg *taken.*

Rain *beſieged.* THE Enemy having left a Garriſon in *Rain*, a ſmall Town, in the Circle of *Bavaria*, about half a League on the other Side of the *Lech*, ſix Miles *Eaſt* of *Donawert*, and nine *Weſt* of *Neuburg*, the *Confederate* Generals reſolved to attack it. The Army, therefore, decamp'd from *Kinderkingen*, the 10th of *July*, N. S. paſs'd the *Lech*, and came with the *Right*, to *Standa*, and, with the *Left*, to *Berchein*. The 10,000 Men, which had paſs'd the River, two Days before, were, at the ſame Time, relieved, by nine Battalions, and fifteen Squadrons, which were to carry on the Siege of *Rain*, under the Command of the Count *de Frize*, to favour which Enterprize, the Army made a Motion to the Right, on the twelfth. The next Day, the Count *de Vehlen*, General of the *Palatine* Horſe,

Horſe, came to the *Confederate* Camp, with Advice from Prince *Eugene*, that the Marſhals *Villeroy* and *Tallard*, with an Army of five and forty Thouſand Men, had paſſed the *Rhine*, about Fort *Kiel*, giving out, that they were reſolved to ſuccour the *Elector* of *Bavaria*, and it was not doubted, but one of them would, at leaſt, make the Attempt; His Highneſs, therefore, deſired a Reinforcement of Horſe might be ſent him, to enable him the better to obſerve the Enemy's Motions. Prince *Maximilian* of *Hannover* (the late King *George*'s Brother) was thereupon detach'd, with thirty Squadrons of *Imperial* Horſe, with Orders to join Prince *Eugene*, with all poſſible Diligence; And the Duke of *Marlborough* ſent, likewiſe, an Expreſs, to acquaint the latter, that, if he thought it neceſſary, a larger Number ſhould follow. 1704.

A Re-inforcement ſent to Prince Eugene.

THE ſame Night, the Trenches were opened before *Rain*: The Garriſon, at firſt, ſeem'd reſolved to defend it to the laſt Extremity; but the Beſiegers playing upon the Town, with 27 Pieces of Cannon; and the Approaches being carried on, with good Succeſs, the ſixteenth, in the Morning, the Garriſon deſir'd to capitulate, and, the Articles being agreed on, they marched out the next Day, being about 400 Foot, commanded by Count *de Mercy*, a Brigadier-General; and were conducted, by a Party of Horſe, to the *Elector* of *Bavaria*'s Camp, near *Augsburg*.

Rain *taken.*

A DETACHMENT of 400 of the *Allies* took Poſſeſſion of the Place, at the ſame Time, and found there four and twenty Braſs Cannon, with ſome Ammunition, beſides a conſiderable Quantity of other Proviſions, which were order'd to be applied to the Uſe of the Troops. Or-

Farther Motions of the Confederate *Army.*

1704. ders having, likewiſe, been given to provide Magazines at *Rain* and *Neuburg*, for the Subſiſtance of the Forces, the Army decamp'd, the ſame Day, from *Berchein*, and came, with the *Right*, to *Holtz*, and the *Left*, to *Oſterhauſen*. The eighteenth, the *Allies* being encouraged by the Proſperity of their Arms, and willing to puſh forward their Conqueſts, continued their March, and encamp'd, with the *Right*, at *Kuepach*, and and the *Left*, at *Aicha*, a very fine Town. Here the Enemy had a Garriſon of 8 or 900 *Bavarian* Boors, who, refuſing to ſubmit, were Part of them put to the Sword, the Reſt made Priſoners of War, and the Town permitted to be plunder'd by the Soldiers. Here, likewiſe, the Generals took their Quarters, and cauſed a Magazine to be erected.

Aicha *taken.*

The Emperour *writes to the D. of* Marl. THE Emperour, no ſooner received Advice of this Succeſs of the *Confederate* Army, which might juſtly be called *His Delivery from apparent Ruin and Deſolation*, than He was thoughtful how to ſhew the grateful Senſe He had, of the ſignal Service done him by the Duke of *Marlborough*; and, therefore, wrote a Letter of Thanks to his Grace, on Occaſion of the Victory of *Schellenberg*, a Copy and Tranſlation of which are the following:

THE *Emperour's Letter to the Duke of* Marlborough, *upon the Victory near* Donawert.

The Emperour's *Letter to the D. of* Marl. " ILLUSTRIS ſincerè Dilecte, Multa ſunt & " eximia veſtra in me, Domum meam & " rem communem merita, interque ea non po- " ſtremo loco cenſenda, ſingulare Studium, Cura " & Diligentia, quæ in promovendo, feſtinan- " doque validiſſimo Auxilio à Sereniſſima &

" Poten-

" Potentiſſima *Magnæ Britanniæ* Regina, & 1704.
" *Generalibus Fœderati Belgii Ordinibus*, Mihi
" ad *Danubium* ſub miſſo teſtati eſtis. Nul-
" lum vero adhuc duco illuſtrius, quam quod
" illico poſt excercitus veſtri cum meo con-
" junctionem in celerrimâ fortiſſimaque Caſ-
" trorum hoſtilium ad *Donaverdam* aggreſſione
" expugnationeque, die hujus labentis Menſis
" ſecundâ, Vobis comparaſtis; hujus enim Suc-
" ceſsûs, quo mihi vix gratius, atque hoc qui-
" dem tempore opportunius quicquam acci-
" dere potuit, potiſſimam partem Conſilio,
" Prudentiæ & Executioni veſtræ, nec non
" Copiarum ſub Ductu veſtro militantium,
" miro Ardori & Conſtantiæ deberi, ipſimet
" Belli Duces mei & Miniſtri aſſerunt.

" PRÆTERQUAM igitur, quod tam præcla-
" ra fortium & egregiorum Virorum Teſti-
" monia, atque ipſa adeo publicorum facto-
" rum Remuneratrix FAMA, Nomini veſtro
" laudes rependant ampliſſimas, me quoque,
" quem commoda ex illa victoria in publi-
" cam rem profluentia imprimis afficiunt, id
" vobis debere exiſtimavi, ut hoc literarum
" mearum calculo partam vobis gloriam con-
" decorarem, ſimulque certos vos redderem
" nullam me dimiſſurum occaſionem reipsâ
" vobis declarandi, quam gratam & propen-
" ſam erga vos Voluntatem geram.

" Vos interim, ut quæ tam ſtrenuè fortiter-
" que cœpiſtis, pari Alacritate & Induſtria pro-
" ſequamini, omniq; animi & virium impetu,
" unà cum ſupremo meo Locumtenente Gene-
" rali, Marchione *Badenſi*, aliiſq; Belli Ducibus
" meis in id incumbatis, quò contexatis extre-
" ma cum primis, Bellumque hoc in viſceribus
" *Germaniæ*, à *Bavaro* ſeditiosè excitatum,

1704. " quam celerrime conficiatis, non tam vos hortor,
" quam certè expecto; in hoc enim ſummam
" Laudem & Gloriam eſſe, idq; & ipſimet
" Sereniſſimæ Reginæ veſtræ in *Superiori Ger-*
" *maniâ*, ubi poſt Hominum Memoriam Vic-
" tricia *Anglicani* Nominis Arma viſa haud
" ſunt, ſempiterni inſtar Trophæi fore, abunde
" agnoſcetis.

" QUOD ſupereſt Deum precor, ut Conſilia
" Auſuſque veſtros ſecundis eventibus beet, &
" propenſiſſimum Animi mei affectum vobis
" iterum, iterumque confirmo,

Dabam in Urbe mea *Viennæ*, 12mo *Julii*, 1704.

THIS Letter was written with the *Emperour*'s own Hand, an Honour rarely ſhewn to any but Sovereign Princes: And, indeed, as ſuch He, in a Manner, treats the Duke, by Beginning as He does.

The Tranſlation of the foregoing Letter.

A Tranſlation of it.

" ILLUSTRIOUS, Sincerely Beloved. Your
" Deſerts towards Me, My Houſe, and the
" Common Cauſe, are great and many, and
" the ſingular Application, Care, and Dili-
" gence, which you have expreſs'd, in bringing
" up and haſtening the powerful Succours,
" which the moſt Serene and Potent Queen
" of *Great Britain*, and the *States General*
" of the *United Netherlands*, have ſent Me to
" the *Danube*, are not to be rank'd in the
" laſt Place; but nothing can be more glo-
" rious, than what you have done, after the
" Conjunction of your Army with Mine, in
" the moſt ſpeedy and vigorous Attack, and
" forcing

" forcing of the Enemy's Camp near *Dona-* 1704.
" *wert*, the ſecond of this Month; ſince My
" Generals themſelves, and Miniſters, declare,
" that the Succeſs of that Enterprize (which
" is more acceptable and advantageous to
" Me, in this preſent Time, than almoſt any
" Thing elſe that could befall Me) is chiefly
" owing to your Councils, Prudence, and Exe-
" cution, and the wonderful Bravery and Con-
" ſtancy of the Troops, who have fought un-
" der your Command.

" THEREFORE, altho' the Teſtimony of thoſe
" great Men, and Fame itſelf, the Rewarder
" of noble Actions, do highly and juſtly extol
" your Name; I, who reap the firſt Advantage,
" which this Victory brings to the common
" Cauſe, have thought Myſelf obliged to Ho-
" nour and Illuſtrate the Glory you have
" gain'd, by the Teſtimony of My Letter,
" and to aſſure you, that I ſhall loſe no Op-
" portunity to ſhew you by Effects, how
" grateful and well-inclin'd I am towards you.
" Mean Time, that you carry on, with the
" ſame Alacrity and Induſtry, what you have
" ſo valiantly and vigorouſly begun, and that,
" in Conjunction with the *Markgrave of Ba-*
" *den*, My Lieutenant-General, and other
" Commanders of My Troops, you uſe your
" utmoſt Endeavours and Force, that the End
" may anſwer the Beginning, and that the
" War, which the *Bavarians* have ſeditiouſly
" raiſed, in the Bowels of *Germany*, may be
" brought to a moſt ſpeedy Concluſion; I
" do not ſo much exhort you to, as I am
" confident of it; For you cannot but be ful-
" ly ſatisfied, that there is the higheſt Glory
" and Honour therein, and that this will be

" an

1704. " an eternal Trophy to your moſt Serene " Queen, in the *Upper Germany*, where the " victorious Arms of the *Engliſh* Nation were " never ſeen, in the Memory of Man. I pray " GOD to bleſs, with a proſperous Succeſs, " your Councils and Enterprizes, and I confirm " to you, again and again, the moſt favour- " able Inclination and Affection of My Mind " towards you.

Given in my City of Vienna, July 12*th*, 1704.

The Duke of Marlb. *refuſes the Title of a Prince of the* Empire.

UPON the Delivering this Letter to the Duke, Count *Wratiſlaw* told his Grace, *That the* Emperour *deſired he would accept of the Honour, intended him, of the Title and Dignity of a Prince of the Empire*; Whereupon his Grace pray'd the Count to repreſent to the *Emperour*; *That he was extreamly ſenſible of his* Imperial *Majeſty's Goodneſs towards him, beyond any Thing he could deſerve, but that his Ambition was entirely bounded in the Queen's Grace and Favour, whoſe abundant Kindneſs had already been extended towards him, beyond whatever he could have aim'd at*; *And that he muſt refer himſelf wholly to Her Majeſty's Pleaſure.* Thereupon, the *Emperour* wrote, with His own Hand, a Letter to the Queen, wherein, after a Congratulation for the late Victory againſt the *French* and *Bavarians*, near *Donawert*, *aſcrib'd, principally, to the Valour of the* Engliſh *Troops, by the Courage and Conduct of Her Majeſty's General, the Duke of* Marlborough; *His* Imperial *Majeſty deſired the Queen to lay Her Commands on my Lord* Marlborough, *to accept a Teſtimony of His* Imperial *Majeſty's Acknowledgment of his Services, ſince the Duke himſelf, when Count* Wratiſlaw *intimated to him.*

His

His Maſter's Intention, made ſome Difficulty to admit it; Monſieur *Hoffman*, the *Emperour's* Reſident at the Court of *England*, (July 23d. O. S.) ſeconded this Letter, with a ſhort Speech, to acquaint the Queen, *That he had Orders from his Maſter, earneſtly to preſs, with all Reſpect, that Her Majeſty would be pleaſed to require his Grace to make no farther Scruple in that Mattter.* 1704.

THE Queen was, at Length, prevailed upon, to comply with the *Emperour's* Deſire; But before Her Pleaſure could be made known to the Duke of *Marlborough*, his Grace had truly and ſufficiently merited the Honour His *Imperial* Majeſty intended him, by an Action, that will immortalize his Name, and which raiſed him to a Level with the moſt celebrated *Heroes* of this or former Ages. *The Queen obliges him to accept of it.*

THE *Confederate* Army, under Prince *Lewis*, and the Duke of *Marlborough*, having reſted two Days at *Aicha*, made a ſmall March from thence, the *Right* advancing about half a League, on this Side that Town, and the *Left* to a Village called *Roerbach*. The next Morning, (the twenty-ſecond of *July*, N. S.) the Duke of *Marlborough*, with the Piquet of the Cavalry of the *Left*, and a Detachment of 500 Foot, croſs'd the *Paer*, and march'd to view the Ground for a Camp, near *Friedburg*, where the Enemy had put a Garriſon of 200 Foot, and as many Horſe, who, as ſoon as his Grace came upon the Plain, within Sight of the Town, retired towards their Army, driving their Horſes, which were grazing near the Town, and which they had not Time to mount, before them. Three Squadrons of Dragoons were, thereupon, ordered to cut off their *Rear*; But by Reaſon of the Ways thro' which they were *Farther Motions of the* Confederate *Army.* Friedburg *taken.*

1704. were to paſs, they could not come up Time enough to prevent their Eſcape. However, they took above 100 Horſes in the Town, and purſued the Reſt to their grand Guard, which, upon their Approach, retired under the Protection of their Camp. His Grace went into the Town, where he left 400 Foot, and 100 Horſe, under the Command of the Lord *North* and *Gray*, and then returned to the Camp.

THE twenty third, the Army marched again, and encamp'd, with the *Right*, at *Wolfurtshauſen*, and the *Left*, at *Ooſtmaring*; The Town of *Friedburg* being in the *Center* of the Line, and within a League of *Augsburg*, under the Cannon of which the *Elector* of *Bavaria* had ſo advantageouſly poſted the Remains of his Army, that it was impoſſible to attack him, or to force him out of his Shelter; However, by this March, the Duke of *Marlborough* had entirely cut off all Communication between him and his Country, which his Grace had now wholly in his Power.

All Communication between the El. of Bavaria *and his Dominions cut off.*

WHEN the Duke had the *Elector* of *Bavaria* at this Diſadvantage, he entered into a Treaty with him, and it was reaſonable to believe he would have embraced the favorable Diſpoſitions his Grace expreſs'd towards him; Since he took no other Advantage of his late Succeſſes, and great Superiority, than to offer him ſuch Terms of Accommodation, as, conſidering the preſent Condition of his Affairs, he had no Reaſon to expect, both for himſelf and his Brother. A late Hiſtorian ſays, he went even ſo far as to offer paying him the whole Charge of the War, if he would immediately break with the *French*, and ſend his Army to join the *Imperialiſts* in *Italy*. His Subjects, who were now at the Mer-

Propoſals of Accommodation offered the El. *of* Bavaria;

cy

cy of the *Confederates*, urged him vehemently to comply with theſe favorable Terms, and thereby prevent the Ruin and Deſolation which threatned them. He ſeemed inclined to give Ear to them, and Meſſengers were frequently ſent between the two Camps; But he was far from being in earneſt, and only made this Shew of Compliance to gain Time, while he ſent Courier after Courier, with the moſt preſſing Inſtances, to haſten the Advance of the *French* Army. When he found he could gain no more Time, without coming to an actual Agreement, he ſeemingly approved of the Articles ſtipulated between Count *Wratiſlaw* and Monſ. *Prilmeyer*, and promiſed to come, in Perſon, to the *Confederate* Camp, to ſign them; Yet he recall'd his Word, upon Advice, that Marſhal *Tallard* had paſs'd the *Black Forreſt*, to join him, and ſent back his Miniſter, to acquaint Count *Wratiſlaw*, *That ſince the King of* France *made ſuch powerful Efforts to ſupport him, he thought himſelf obliged, in Honour, to remain firm in his Alliance.* 1704.

Which he accepts of.

But refuſes to ratify the Articles.

THIS Breach of Promiſe, in the *Elector*, was highly, and, indeed, juſtly reſented, by the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, who, ſeing there was no working, by fair Means, on his *Electoral* Highneſs, ſupported, as he was, by the *French* King; Who had not only promis'd, to make good to him all the Damages he had ſuſtained, or might ſuſtain; But, as it was then reported, every where, that he would ſet him on the *Imperial* Throne. They, therefore, ordered the Count *de la Tour*, General of the *Imperial* Horſe, and the Count *d'Ooſt-Frieze*, Lieutenant-General in the Service of the *States General*, with thirty Squadrons of Horſe and

His Breach of Faith reſented;

And Orders given to ravage his Country.

1704. and Dragoons, to plunder and burn the Country of *Bavaria*, as far as *Munich*, the Capital of the *Electorate*; Hoping, that either a generous Compaſſion for his diſtreſs'd Subjects, or the Want of Subſiſtance, would, at Length, conquer the *Elector*'s Obſtinacy.

Contributions offer'd;

But are nobly refuſed.

Upon Notice of the Commiſſion given to General *de la Tour*, the whole Country was in the utmoſt Conſternation, the Inhabitants of ſeveral Places ſent Deputies to the Duke of *Marlborough*, offering to pay large Contributions to prevent Military Execution; But his Grace generouſly refuſed an Offer, by which he might eaſily have amaſſed great Riches for himſelf, and, conſulting nothing but the Good of the Common Cauſe, anſwered, *That the Forces of the Queen of* England *were not come into* Bavaria *to get Money*; *But to bring their Prince to Reaſon:* So that thoſe Generals put their Commiſſion in Execution, with the utmoſt Severity, bringing away every Thing that came within their Reach, which was worth Taking, and burning or ruining the Reſt: And, in this Manner, were deſtroyed upwards of 300 Towns, Villages and Caſtles. The *Elector* of *Bavaria*, and the Marſhal *de Marſin*, having evacuated *Ratiſbon*, were forc'd, in the mean Time, to keep cloſe within their ſtrong Camp and Intrenchments at *Augsburg*, in Expectation of another Army from *France*, under Marſhal *de Tallard*.

The El. *of* Bavaria *writes to the Duke of* Marlborough.

The Deſolation of ſo fine a Country could not but very much affect the *Elector*, tho' it was not an effectual Cure for his Obſtinacy: He wrote a Letter to the Duke of *Marlborough*, entreating him to put a Stop to theſe Ravages: He ſaid, *He could not believe ſuch Violences, ſo*

1704.

oppoſite to true Glory, were committed by his Grace's Orders, or thoſe of Prince Lewis *of* Baden, *and that, if they were continued, he ſhould be obliged to make Reprizals.* The Duke anſwer'd; *It was in his Power to put an End to them, by a ſpeedy Accommodation:* But the *Elector* being buoy'd up, by the near Approach of the Marſhal *de Tallard*, replied haughtily; *That ſince they had obliged him to draw the Sword, he had thrown away the Scabbard.*

His Grace's Anſwer.

The Elector's *haughty Reply.*

WHILE theſe Things were tranſacting, the Duke received Advice from Prince *Eugene*, that the Marſhal *de Tallard* was arrived, the eighteenth, at *Villingen*; And that, thereupon, his Highneſs was marched, with twenty Battalions, and ſixty Squadrons, including the thirty lately ſent from the Duke's Army, to obſerve his Motions, having left the Reſt of the Troops, under the Command of Count *Naſſau-Weilburg*, to defend the Lines of *Stolhoffen*. The Hereditary Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel* (now King of *Sweden*) being returned from *Donawert* to the Army, tho' he was not yet perfectly recovered of the Wound he received in the Action at *Schellenberg*, the Duke of *Marlborough* declared him General of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Horſe.

Marſhal de Tallard *advances to the* Elector's *Succour.*

The Duke of Marlborough *declares the* P. *of* Heſſe-Caſſel *General of Horſe.*

THE ſix and twentieth of *July*, N. S. the *Confederate* Army made a General Forrage, within Sight of the Enemy's Camp, without any Loſs; And, the ſame Evening, Advice was brought, that the Marſhal *de Tallard*, after he had been battering the Town of *Villingen*, ſix Days, had been obliged, upon Prince *Eugene*'s Advancing the twenty-third, to *Rotweil*, to raiſe the Siege; That he marched two Leagues the ſame Day, and was, the four and twentieth at *Dutlingen*; and that Prince

Farther Advice of Marſhal Tallard.

Eugene

1704. *Eugene* would march, on the other Side of the *Danube*, to obſerve him.

Farther Motions of the Confederate *Army.*

THE eight and twentieth, the Duke of *Marlborough* reviewed the Troops of the *Left* Wing of his Army, and found them in very good Order; Several of the Officers and Soldiers, who were wounded, at the Action of *Schellenberg*, being returned to their Regiments. The thirty-firſt, upon Advice, that the *Elector* of *Bavaria* had ſent a Detachment of Horſe towards *Landſperg*, the Duke of *Wirtemberg* was immediately ſent out, with 2,000 Horſe and Dragoons, to obſerve them; But the Duke had, ſoon after, Intelligence, that the Enemy's Detachment conſiſted only of four Squadrons, which were ſent to re-inforce the Garriſon of *Munich*. Orders were thereupon diſpatched to the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, to join with the Count *de la Tour*, in the Execution of his Commiſſion, which being performed, with great Severity, to the very Walls of *Munich*, and the Enemy, thereby, deprived of all Manner of Subſiſtence, on that Side, thoſe Generals rejoined the Army, the third of *Auguſt*.

The Beſieging of the ſtrong Places of Bavaria *reſolved upon;*

THE Duke of *Marlborough*, and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, finding that the *Elector* of *Bavaria* was ſtill inflexible, and that it was not poſſible to attack him in his fortified Camp, under the Cannon of *Augsburg*, without infinite Diſadvantage; And conſidering, beſides, that Marſhal *de Tallard* was advancing, with a large Body of Troops, they reſolved to attempt the reducing of the ſtrong Places of *Bavaria*, and to begin with *Ingolſtadt*, the moſt important Place the *Elector* had, in which his great Magazines were laid up. Prince *Lewis* took upon him to command and carry on the Siege, with the *Imperial*

And particularly Ingolſtadt.

Troops, and the Duke of *Marlborough* undertook to cover it, with the Auxiliary Forces, which, in Caſe of Need, might be joined by thoſe under Prince *Eugene*, who, by this Time, was advanced to *Dillingen*. The *Confederate* Army, thereupon, marched back (the fourth of *Auguſt*, N. S.) from their Camp at *Friedberg*, towards *Aicha*, burning all the Villages they had ſpared before, between thoſe two Towns, and, having paſſed the *Paer*, encamp'd, that Night, at *Kuepach*, their *Left* Wing reaching to *Aicha*, and the *Right*, beyond the Caſtle of *Winden*. 1704.

Diſpoſition of the Confederate *Army on that Account.*

THE next Day, the Army again paſſed the *Paer*, near the Town of *Schrobbenhauſen*, leaving that Place to their *Right*, and encamp'd the *Left* Wing, at a Place call'd *Kloſter-Berg*, above the little Town of *Hochenwaert*, and the *Right* behind the Town of *Schrobbenhauſen*. The ſame Day, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* went to *Neuburg*, to view the Artillery, and other Preparations for the Siege of *Ingolſtadt*.

ON the other Hand, the Marſhal *de Tallard*, with about 22,000 Horſe and Foot, being come to *Biberach*, the fourth of *Auguſt*, N. S. in the Morning, he left his Troops, and went to the *Elector*'s Camp. His *Electoral* Highneſs, after having left Monſ. *Chamarante*, in *Augsburg*, with eight Battalions, and four Squadrons, of *French* Troops, marched, the fifth, with the Reſt of his Forces, to join the new Auxiliaries of that Nation, at *Biberach*, as if his Intent was to paſs the *Lech*, at that Place, in Order to attack the *Confederate* Army: But this was only a Feint to cover his true Deſign, which was to paſs the *Danube*, at *Lawingen*, and to fall on the Army, which Prince *Eugene* had

The Marſhal de Tallard *joins the* El. *of* Bavaria.

1704. brought from the Lines of *Biehl*, and which was then encamped at *Hochſtadt*, before his Highneſs could be re-inforced.

Prince Eugene *comes to the* Confederate *Camp.*

THE ſixth of *Auguſt*, Prince *Eugene*, having left his Troops at *Hochſtadt*, went to the main Army, to confer with the Prince of *Baden*, and the Duke of *Marlborough*; And taking Notice, in his Way, of a Tract of Ground very proper for a Camp, being an Eminence, which reached from the Villages of *Munſter* and *Erlinghoven*, to the Wood near *Appenhoven*, with a Rivulet before it, he thereupon ſent Orders to his Army, to come and poſſeſs themſelves of that advantageous Poſt; Which was put in Execution that very Night.

THE ſeventh, a great Council of War was held, in the Marſhal *de Tallard*'s Camp, at which all the General Officers of both Armies aſſiſted. The grand Queſtion was, whether they ſhould paſs the *Danube*, and if they ſhould paſs it, where to encamp? It was unanimouſly agreed, that, in Order to draw the *Allies* out of *Bavaria*, it would be neceſſary to paſs that River at *Lawingen*; But that Choice muſt be made of a Camp, where Forrage would be Plenty, and where they might reſt ſecure from any Attack of the *Allies*, 'till all the *Bavarian* Troops, which were diſperſed in ſeveral Places, ſhould join the united Army. The General Officers, in Monſ. *de Marſin*'s Army, propos'd the Camp of *Blenheim*, as a ſecure Poſt, where they would have Forrage in Abundance; The Propoſal being made by thoſe who knew, or ſhould have known the Country, was agreed to, as well by the Marſhal *de Tallard*, as Monſ. *de Marſin*, and the Reſolution was taken accordingly.

THE

THE ſame Day, the Duke of *Marlborough* having received Intelligence, that the *Elector* of *Bavaria* was come out of his Intrenchments, and was encamped by *Tirhaupten*, on the other Side of the *Lech*, between *Biberach* and *Koſterholts*, it was reſolved to obſerve him, and, to that End, to advance towards *Donawert*. On the ſeventh, likewiſe, 800 *Imperial* Horſe were detach'd, under Count *Merci*, Major-General, to ſtreighten the Town of *Ingolſtadt*, on one Side, whilſt Brigadier *Baldwin*, who had been commanded out towards *Rain*, with 500 Horſe, ever ſince the fourteenth of *July*, received Orders to inveſt it on another Side. The ſame Day, Prince *Lewis* returned to the Camp, where he held a Council of War, with Prince *Eugene*, and the Duke of *Marlborough*; In which, it was agreed, to remain by the late Reſolution of Prince *Lewis*'s Beſieging *Ingolſtadt*, whilſt the other two ſhould obſerve the *Elector* of *Bavaria*. The eighth, the Army under the Duke of *Marlborough* marched from *Hochenwaert*, to *Zanditzell*, and that of the *Emperour*, under Prince *Lewis*, on the other Side of the little Town of *Potmes*, or *Behmen*, which was already reduced to Aſhes. The ninth, the Duke advanced, within two Hours March of *Rain*, and poſted his *Left* Wing near *Enheim*, and his *Right* at *Tillingen*; And from hence Prince *Lewis* bent his March directly to *Neuburg*, to repair from thence before *Ingolſtadt*. He took with him two and twenty Battalions of Foot, the Regiments of Horſe of *Hohen Zollern* and *Cronsfeld*; the *Cuiraſſiers* of *Merci*, and the Dragoons of *Caſtelli*, leaving, in the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Army, under the Command of the Duke-Regent of *Wirtemberg*, General of Horſe,

1704.

Ingolſtadt *inveſted.*

Prince Lewis *goes to beſiege* Ingolſtadt.

1704. Horſe, the Cuiraſſiers of *Zanthen* and *Cuſani*, the Dragoons of *Stirum* and *Auffſtätz*, *Franconian* Troops, two Squadrons of Horſe-Grenadiers of *Wirtemberg*, and three others, in all eight and twenty Squadrons.

CHAP. VII.

THE *Battle of* HOCHSTADT, *or* BLENHEIM.

I AM now entering upon the Deſcription of the greateſt and moſt memorable Action, which this Age has produc'd, and which raiſed the Honour and Fame of our *Illuſtrious Hero* to the higheſt Pitch of Glory Mankind is perhaps capable of, and above what any Subject of *England*, not of the Royal Blood, ever attained to before. I ſhall, therefore, be as particular in my Relation of it, as all the Aſſiſtance I have been able to procure, from authentick Pieces, Letters, *&c.* could enable me to be; to which Pieces, Letters, *&c.* I ſhall refer, in my Relation, and add them at the End of it. Beſides all theſe, I have had an Eye to whatever has been written by our Hiſtorians, and by Monſ. *Dumont*, Monſ. *Rouſſet*, and other Foreign Authors, on the one Side, and by the Marquis *de Quincy*, F. *Daniel*, and other *French* Hiſtorians, on the other, which can ſerve to illuſtrate theſe Pieces.

Advice of the Enemy's Approach.

THE ninth of *Auguſt*, N. S. the Duke of *Marlborough* was informed, that the Enemy was marching from *Biberach* to *Lawingen*, in Order to paſs the *Danube* there. Prince *Eugene*,

Vol. I. p. 356.
Hochstet
The Flight of the Enemy
Bavarian Horse
Sonderen Gens d Armes
Bridg of Boats
Tallard taken
Tallard's last E. stand
C. Tallard
C. Marsin
E. Bavaria
Lutzingen
Danube R.
Blenheim
Unterklau
Village
Obirklau
Twenty Bats design'd for the first Attack
Greinheim
Swenback
Hochstet
Vulpersheim
The Confederate Army marching in nine Columns to the Enemy
Swiyangen
Scale of Paces
100 1000 Doo
An Exact Plan of the Battle of HOCHSTET is humbly Dedicated to his Grace IOHN DUKE of MONTAGUE by his Grace's most devoted humble serv. Tho: Ledlard
EXPLICATION
Bridges over the Hase
A Lave Brook
B Our Batteryes
C The Enemy's Batteryes
D The Enemyes Camp
E The first Attack on y. Villag of Blenheim
F The English Horse Attacking the Gens d Arms Sword in Hand
G The rest of our left Wing of Horse
H Ten Bat Attack the Village Obirklau
I The Imperial Horse pasing the River
K Eleven Bat of Prussians
L 7 Bat of Danes

gene, who, but a few Hours before had taken his Leave of the Duke, in Order to return to his Army, came back, to tell his Grace, that he had received the same Advice; upon which, having consulted together, near two Hours, the Prince went back again, and re-join'd his Army, the tenth, by Break of Day. The Duke, in the mean Time, with his accustomed Vigilance, ordered the Duke Regent of *Wirtemberg*, at two, in the Morning, to march before, with the eight and twenty Squadrons under his Command, and a few Hours after, caused him to be followed by twenty Battalions, under the Command of General *Churchill*. He directed them both, to use all imaginable Diligence, to join Prince *Eugene*, and promis'd, that he would soon be after them with the Rest of the Army.

1704.

Pr. Eugene and the D. of Marlb consult together.

See Letter C. and D. below.

ACCORDINGLY, his Grace continued his March, the tenth, towards *Rain*, and encamp'd, with his *Right*, at *Mittelstadt*, and his *Left* at *Pluckingen*, having the Town of *Rain* in their Front, and the Quarters-General at *Neder Schonevelt*, where Bridges were already laid over the *Danube*. The same Day, the Prince of *Wirtemberg*, with the Horse and Dragoons, and after him General *Churchill*, with the Foot and Artillery, passed that River, on the Bridge that was at *Merxen*.

The Duke marches with his Army to join the Prince.

WHEN Prince *Eugene* came, the tenth, early in the Morning, to his Army, he found them in Motion, and going to possess themselves of the Intrenchments of *Schellenberg*, whither the Officers, who commanded in his Absence, had already sent Pioneers, to put them again into a State of Defence; not judging it safe to wait the coming of the Enemy upon them,

Force and Situation of the Prince's Army.

1704. there, in the Camp of *Munſter*, with an Army, which did not exceed 18,000 Men. The Prince, however, cauſed the Tents to be immediately ſet up again, contenting himſelf with ſending the Baggage to *Donawert*; rightly conjecturing, that the Enemy, who paſſed the *Danube*, that Day, at *Lawingen*, could not come near his Army the ſame Evening, and that it would not be an Impoſſibility for him to maintain the important Poſt of *Munſter*, 'till the Duke ſhould join him.

Farther Intelligence of the Enemy.

In the mean Time, to be thoroughly informed of the Motions of the Enemy, he ſent out five Squadrons towards *Hochſtadt*, which, being returned, reported, that the Enemy, after having paſſed the *Danube*, had not retaken their ancient Camp, between *Lawingen* and *Dillingen*, but that their *Right* extended as far as *Steinheim*, and their *Left* was at *Lawingen*. The Prince, hereupon, diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the Duke, to acquaint him with it, and to preſs him to haſten his March: And, becauſe it was moſt evident, that the Enemy, who were well informed of the Weakneſs of the Prince's Army, were ſo far advanced, that Day, only with a Deſign to attack his Highneſs the next, the Prince cauſed all his Infantry, and Part of his Cavalry, to march to the Camp of *Schellenberg*, keeping only with him two and twenty Squadrons of Dragoons, of his own Army, with the eight and twenty Squadrons, which the Duke-Regent of *Wirtemberg* had brought to him. He paſs'd the Night, with thoſe few Troops, in the Camp of *Munſter*, keeping the Horſes ready ſaddled, with a Reſolution to preſerve that Poſt, if poſſible, tho' without coming

Preparations made by the Prince.

coming to an Engagement, 'till joined by the Duke of *Marlborough*. 1704.

THE eleventh, the Expreſs ſent to the Duke came back, and informed the Prince that his Grace had been upon the March, ever ſince two o'Clock in the Morning, with Deſign to join his Highneſs, that very Evening, at the Camp of *Munſter*. He added, that the twenty Battalions, under General *Churchill*, were very near. Upon this, the Prince, who, on the other Hand, was informed by his Parties, that the Enemy made no Motion, that Day, cauſed all the Troops, which he had ſent, the Day before, to *Schellenberg*, to return to the Camp of *Munſter*. General *Churchill* came thither early, with his twenty Battalions, and, in the Evening, the Duke arrived, with his whole Army, the firſt Line of which had paſs'd the *Lech*, near *Rain*, the *Danube*, at *Donawert*, and the *Wernitz*, near this laſt Place; and the ſecond Line had paſſed the *Danube*, at *Schonfield*, and the *Wernitz*, at *Oppersmorgen*. All the Troops being thus joined, they encamp'd between the Villages of *Munſter*, and *Erlinghoven*, and that of *Appershoven*.

The Duke of Marlb. *joins* Pr. Eugene.

See Letter C. *and* D. *below.*

THE twelfth, the Troops being too much haraſs'd with the foregoing Day's March, the Generals reſolved to make a Halt, and only to take a View of the Enemy's Camp. Accordingly, at Break of Day, the Generals advanced towards *Schweiningen*, to view the Enemy's Army, taking with them the whole *Piquet*, conſiſting of eight and twenty Squadrons. They had Thoughts of cauſing the Army to advance as far as *Greinheim* and *Wolperſtette*; but that they perceived twenty Squadrons of the Enemy in the *Plain* of *Oberklau*; And, from the

They take a View of the Enemy's Army.

1704. Eminence, which is by the Corner of the Wood, near *Wolperſtette*, they ſaw, by Means of Perſpective-Glaſſes, that the Enemy's whole Army was in Motion, and their Horſe marching forward. The Prince and the Duke went up to the Top of the Tower of *Thiffingen* (or *Daapfheim*) the better to view the Enemy, and they obſerved, that the advanc'd Squadrons ſtopp'd ſhort, after they had perceived ours. At one, in the Afternoon, they ſaw the Quarter-maſters of the Enemy's Army ſet up their Camp-Standards, and mark the Camp from *Blenheim* to *Lutzingen*.

Situation of the Ground between the two Armies.

It will be highly neceſſary here, in Order to give the Reader a better Idea of what follows, to give a particular Account of the Situation, and Circumſtances, of the Spot of Ground which was then between the two Armies, and upon which the two Armies were encamp'd. It is a Plain of near two Leagues long, but of an unequal Breadth, the Entrance into it not being above the Breadth of a Cannon-Shot, but widening ſoon after to the Breadth of about a League. It is border'd, on one Side, by the Wood of *Schellenberg*, and, on the other, by the *Danube*, and three or four Rivulets croſs this Plain, in their Courſe to the *Danube*. This, with the Inconvenience of ſeveral Marſhes, together with the Villages and Hamlets, which are ſcatter'd here and there, in this Plain, to the Number of above twenty, render'd the March of the *Confederate* Army, to attack the Enemy, very troubleſome. The little Town of *Hochſtadt* (which gave Name to this Battle) is ſituate at the other Extremity of the Plain, oppoſite to the *Confederate* Army, on the *North* Side of the *Danube*, and at the Mouth of a Rivulet

Rivulet, which, running by the Village of *Oberweiningen*, there falls into this River. Here it was, the *Confederate Generals* intended to have formed their Camp, but the Enemy were before-hand with them, and had taken Poſſeſſion of the whole Space between *Blenheim* and *Lutzingen*, and had placed their Advanc'd Guard on the other Side of the Rivulet, which was on the Front of their Camp. 1704.

So ſoon as the Generals returned to the Army, they ordered the neceſſary Paſſages to be made; And the Pioneers were ſent, near *Thiſſingen*, to make Bridges of Communication on a Rivulet, which, indeed, was narrow, but had high Banks. They were hardly got to their Works, when the advanced Guards of the Enemy came ſo near as between *Schweiningen* and *Thiſſingen*, and their *Huſſars*, obliging the Pioneers to retire, as far as the advanced Guards of the *Confederate* Army, gave a Sort of Alarm to the whole Camp.

THE Duke of *Marlborough* returned that Way, with the whole *Picquet*, ſeven Squadrons of Dragoons, which were encamp'd before the Quarters-General, and five *Engliſh* Battalions of *Row's* Brigade, with the Battalion of *Engliſh* Guards, which were followed by a Brigade of *Heſſe*, and a good Part of the Army: But being come to the Rivulet, where the Pioneers had been repuls'd, they found that the Enemy not only retired, but returned full Gallop to their main Army. The *Confederate* advanced Guard was re-inforced, and left under the Command of a Major-General; And the two Brigades of Foot, which were in the Village of *Thiſſingen*, were alſo left under the Command of a like Officer,

The Enemy's advanced Guard retire with Precipitation.

1704. Officer, who poſted his Men in the Hedges thereabouts.

Situation of the Enemy's Army. See Letter Q. below.

At four in the Afternoon, they plainly diſcovered, from the Tower of *Thiffingen*, the Enemy's Camp, their Tents being ſet up; And ſaw, that they were poſſeſs'd of a very advangeous Poſt, on a Hill; That their Right Flank was covered by the *Danube*, and the Village of *Blenheim*, and their Left by the Village of *Lutzingen*; and that they had before them a Rivulet, whoſe Banks were high, and the Bottom marſhy; So that it was believed at firſt to be unpaſſable, as, indeed, it was afterwards found to be, in ſeveral Places. They had, beſides, the Village of *Oberklau*, in the Center of their Army, and the Village of *Unterklau*, on the oppoſite Side of the Rivulet; And two Mills, towards the Mouth of the Rivulet, which ſecur'd the Paſſage on that Side, and ſerved as Redoubts for the Defence of the River of *Blenheim*.

Reaſons which induced the Duke of Marlb. *and Pr.* Eugene *to attack the Enemy in their advantageous Poſt.*

In theſe Circumſtances, it was thought a very hazardous Enterprize, to attack ſo numerous an Army, in ſo advantageous a Poſt, which the *Confederates* could not approach, but by Filing off, and by Paſſing, in View of the Enemy, a marſhy Rivulet, which could not be done in good Order. But, on the other Hand, there ſeemed to be an indiſpenſable Neceſſity of Falling immediately upon the Enemy, before they had Time to fortify themſelves, in that Poſt: For not only the *Confederate* Army would have wanted Forrage, much ſooner than *Ingolſtadt* could have been taken, but the Generals had very good Information, from intercepted Letters, that the Marſhal *de Villeroy* had Orders to leave Monſ. *de Coigni*, in the Camp near *Offenburg*.

Offenburg, with a Body of Troops, ſufficient to keep thoſe of the *Allies* within the Lines of *Biehl*, and was ready, with the Remainder of his Army, to make an Irruption into the Country of *Wirtemberg*. That Army might then have acted in Concert with the *Elector* or *Bavaria*, and have been re-inforced by Detachments from that Prince's Army, to fall afterwards on the *Rear* of the Lines of *Biehl*; So that, thereby, the *French* Armies would have eſtabliſhed the free Communication, from the *Rhine*, to the *Danube*, and have forced all to ſubmit to them, as far as the *Mayn*. In the mean Time, the *Elector*, from his Camp at *Hochſtadt*, might have ruined a great Part of the Circle of *Franconia*, and have brought Things to that Paſs, that the Auxiliaries, under the Duke of *Marlborough*, would not have been able to find, either Subſiſtence, or Winter-Quarters, on the *Danube*, and in the *Upper Germany*; Tho', on the other Hand, that great and ſeaſonable Supply, could not have left the *Empire*, in the Winter, without expoſing it to the very Brink of Ruin, from which they had ſo lately, and ſo happily retrieved it, and without Leaving a very great Superiority to the Enemy. Some alledge another Reaſon; *viz.* That in Caſe of a Victory, of which his Grace was pretty confident, he was now out of Danger of any Part of the Honour of it being attributed to Prince *Lewis*'s Conduct; That of the Victory of *Schellenberg* having been (tho' unjuſtly) almoſt wholly aſcribed to him, by ſome, who made it their Buſineſs to leſſen the Duke's Merit, where the leaſt Pretence was to be found, tho' never ſo far fetch'd. 1704.

THESE

1704. THESE (without conſidering the laſt mentioned) were prevalent Arguments to engage the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* to hazard a Battle, tho' under greater Diſadvantages; Yet there were not wanting thoſe, who accus'd theſe two Great Generals of Raſhneſs in the Attempt, and inſinuated that they would not have been ſufficient to have excuſed them, had Succeſs been wanting. The *Engliſh* (ſay they in particular) would not have pardon'd the Duke, for hazarding the Lives of their Countrymen, in Favour of the *Imperialiſts*: But here theſe Remarkers ſeem to be under an undeniable Miſtake; For we certainly were in an Humour, at that Time, to have ſacrificed more in Favour of that Court, which, in the Opinion of many, has not ſince ſhewn the greateſt Marks of Gratitude, in Return. It is, indeed, true, that Succeſs generally covers a raſh Action, and, on the Contrary, a Miſcarriage is as often the Cauſe, that Temerity is not forgiven. The Grounds, however, upon which theſe Arguments were founded, ſeem inconteſtable; And they had their due Weight with our Generals. For, that very Night, all the neceſſary Diſpoſitions were made for the Attack, and the Baggage was ſent to *Rietlingen*, a Village between *Munſter* and *Donawaert*.

The Reſolution taken.

Some Obſervations thereupon.

The Duke's unſhaken Steadineſs of Mind.

IN the mean Time, ſeveral General Officers came, and repreſented to the Duke of *Marlborough* the Difficulties of the Deſign, in their moſt lively Colours; But they had no Effect on his ſteady Reſolution, which he had not fix'd, without weighing every Circumſtance, and the Conſequences which might, or could poſſibly, attend them. He knew, that the Poſt which the Enemy poſſeſs'd was capable of being put,

in

1704.

in a very ſhort Time, out of all Danger of future Attacks; He duly conſidered, that even a Defeat itſelf could hardly be more fatal than lying ſtill and doing nothing: On the other Hand, the Glory of a Victory, which he had in View, and which, from an Experience of the Bravery of the Troops under his Command, led by Officers of the moſt conſummate Judgment and Valour, was alone capable to diſpel theſe Clouds of Diffidence, however juſt in the Minds of Men of a leſs enlighten'd Genius and Underſtanding: He, therefore, only told them, that he was ſenſible of all theſe Difficulties; But the Attempt was abſolutely neceſſary: Upon which the Orders, which were diſtributed throughout the whole Army, were received with ſuch Alacrity and Chearfulneſs, as gave a happy Preſage of the Glorious Succeſs that followed.

Gives Alacrity to the whole Army.

IT plainly appeared, by every Circumſtance of the Duke's Behaviour, antecedent to this Glorious Action, that he was reſolved, either to conquer, or dy in the Attempt; *And* (to his eternal Honour be it ſaid) *a little before the Battle, he devoted himſelf to the* ALMIGHTY LORD AND RULER OF HOSTS, *in Preſence of his Chaplain, and received the Sacrament.* And no leſs memorable and Praiſe-worthy is what his Grace is reported to have ſaid, after the Battle, *viz. That he believed he had pray'd more that Day, than all the Chaplains of the Army.*

The Duke of Marlb. *exemplary Piety.*

The Battle of BLENHEIM, *or* HOCHSTADT.

THE *Confederate* Army had 52 Pieces of Cannon, and conſiſted of 66 Battalions and 178 Squadrons, which might amount to 50 or 52,000 Men. That of the Enemy was near 60,000 ſtrong,

The Battle of Blenheim.

Force of both Armies.

1704. ſtrong, conſiſting of 82 Battalions and 160 Squadrons, with 90 (or, as ſome ſay, 100) Pieces of Cannon, 8 whereof were 24 Pounders. Their *Right* Wing was commanded by the Marſhal *de Tallard*, and made up of the Army he had brought to the *Elector*'s Aſſiſtance, conſiſting in 60 Squadrons, and 40 Battalions, of the beſt Troops of *France*. On the *Left*, was the *Elector*, with the *Bavarians*, and the Marſhal *de Marſin*, with the *French* Troops under his Command. The Priſoners which were taken, owned, after the Battle, that they had 82 Battalions; But would confeſs only 147 Squadrons. Some Accounts diminiſh the Number of the Enemy's Squadrons to 140, and their Battalions to 80; Whilſt another Account ſays, our Army conſiſted of no more than 64 Battalions, and 166 Squadrons, of which Number, 1500 Horſe were detach'd, with Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*. I have ſeen an Order of Battle, of the *Confederate* Army, (ſaid to be) as it ſtood juſt before the Engagement, according to which, it conſiſted of 67 Battalions, and 181 Squadrons. This, however, is certain, that the United Army, of *French* and *Bavarians*, was conſiderably more numerous, than that of the *Allies*, under the Duke, and Prince *Eugene*; And the Marſhal *de Tallard* himſelf confeſs'd them to be ſo, by about 4000 Men.

See Letter E. below.

HAVING thus given my Readers an Account of the Force, State, and Situation of both Armies; Of the Hazards that neceſſarily muſt attend the Engagement, which were ſuch as required the utmoſt Vigilance, Conduct and Courage, even of thoſe incomparable Generals, who were to lead it on, and direct it; And of the unavoidable Dangers which muſt have follow'd

the Neglect of this favourable, this only Opportunity; I come now to *the Great, the Important Day* (to borrow an Expreſſion of Mr. *Addiſon*'s) *big with the Fate*, not of the *German Empire* only, but of *All Europe. A Day, the Remembrance of which will endure, as long as Hiſtory ſhall be wrote or read*; *Or, even, 'till Time ſhall be no more: A Day, which, in particular, decided the Deſtiny of the* Elector *of* Bavaria, *by the Loſs of all his Country.* 1704.

The whole Army marches.

THE *General* was beat about an Hour after Midnight, the *Aſſembly* at half an Hour after one, the March at two, upon which the whole *Confederate* Army was in Motion, and, by three, they began to paſs the Rivulet call'd *Keſſel*, on ſeveral Bridges, which had been prepared the Night before. They filed off in eight Columns, of which two, of *Imperial* Foot, marched quite to the *Right* of all, towards the Height, along the Wood, having two Columns of *Imperial* Cavalry to their *Left*. The *Left* Wing, which was compoſed of the Auxiliaries, marched, likewiſe, in four Columns, *viz.* two of Foot, on the *Left* of the *Imperial* Horſe, and two of Horſe, on the *Left* of all. Thus the whole Army advanced as far as the Rivulet, near *Thiffingen*, where the advanced Guards were ordered to return to their reſpective Bodies, and the two Brigades of *Heſſian* Infantry, which had been left, in that Village, under the Command of Major-General *Wilks*, with fifteen Squadrons, which the Duke of *Marlborough* commanded out, formed, on the *Left* of all, a ninth Column, and thus they marched towards *Schweiningen*.

As ſoon as the nine Columns were arrived, between that Village and the Wood, they made Halt,

1704. Halt, to obſerve the Enemy, who ſeemed unconcern'd, and did not make any great Motion.

The Duke and Prince give Directions for the Attack. About ſix, the Duke of *Marlborough*, and Prince *Eugene*, who had poſted themſelves on a riſing Ground, called to them all the Generals to give them the neceſſary Directions, for the Attack, and then the Army advanced to the *Plain*, where they were drawn up, in Order of Battle. The *Left* Wing, which was under the immediate Care of the Duke of *Marlborough*, conſiſted in eight and forty Battalions, and eighty-ſix Squadrons, whereof fourteen Battalions, and thirteen Squadrons, were *Engliſh* Troops; Two and twenty Squadrons, *Daniſh*; Fourteen Battalions and nineteen Squadrons, *Dutch*; Thirteen Battalions, and five and twenty Squadrons, of the Forces of *Lunenburg*; Seven Squadrons of the Troops of *Heſſe*; And ſome Troops of *Wirtemberg*.

The Enemy begins to be in Motion. About ſeven, before the *Confederate* Army was quite drawn up in *Battalia*, the Enemy, at the Approach of their *Van-guard*, gave a Signal, by firing two Pieces of Cannon, to call in their Foragers. They likewiſe ſet Fire to the Villages of *Unterklau*, *Wolperſtette*, *Weiler*, *Berghauſen*, and *Schweinenbach*, and their whole Army was perceived to be in Motion. They then beat the *General*, afterwards the *Aſſembly*, and the *Confederates* ſaw them in Arms before their Camp, their Generals, with their *Aids de Camps*, galloping to and fro, to put all Things in Order.

The Diſpoſition of their Army. The Marſhal *de Tallard*, in particular, having made all his Diſpoſitions, on the Enemy's *Right*, where he commanded, gave Orders to Monſ. *de Surlauben*, who commanded the *Right* of the Cavalry, to have a watchful Eye, on the Motions

Motions of the *Confederates*, and that, as ſoon as a certain Number of them had paſs'd the Rivulet, he ſhould charge them. Monſ. *de Clerambault* had Orders to remain in the Village of *Blenheim*, and there to withſtand the Enemy's Attack with all his Might. This done, the Marſhal gallop'd to the *Center*, where he found the *Elector*, and the Marſhal *de Marſin*, who had juſt been making the neceſſary Diſpoſitions on their *Left*, and were ranging their Infantry in the beſt Poſture they could, to withſtand the Attack of the *Allies*. Monſ. *de Tallard* gave his *Electoral* Highneſs an Account of what Diſpoſitions he had made, with which he ſeem'd perfectly ſatisfy'd, and embracing him, told him, he hop'd he ſhould do it, with a yet greater Satisfaction, in the Evening. The Marſhal ſtaid in the *Center* to obſerve the Diſpoſition of the *Confederates*; and took that Time to dine, with three or four General Officers who were with him. He was prevail'd upon (as Monſ. *de Quincy* ſays, much againſt his Will, and in a very wrong Time) to go to the *Left*, that he might be the better Judge of the Diſpoſitions made there. 1704.

A Detachment of the Confederates advance.

ON the *Confederate* Side, two Brigades of Foot, commanded by the Lord *Cutts*, Lieutenant-General, the Major-Generals *St. Paul* and *Wilks*, and the Brigadiers *Row* and *Ferguſon*, and ſupported by fifteen Squadrons, under the Command of Major-General *Wood*, were ordered, on the *Left*, to poſſeſs themſelves of the two Water-mills, near *Blenheim*, which the Enemy immediately ſet on Fire.

Bridges laid over the Moraſs.

THE *Confederate* Army, in the mean Time, advanced into the Plain, four Columns march'd to the *Left*, towards the Village of *Greynheim*,

1704. and four of the *Imperial* Troops, took the *Right*, towards the Village of *Schweinenbach*, leaving *Wolperſtette* and *Berghauſen* to the *Left*. Being come to the Rivulet, they found it difficult for the Cavalry to paſs, the Banks being, on each Side, high, the Water ſtanding, and, beſides, it was marſhy to the Right of *Oberklau*, as alſo between *Unterklau* and the Mills; It was therefore reſolved to facilitate the Paſſage, by Means of the Planks of their *Pontons*.

About eleven o'Clock, the whole Army being in *Battalia*, in two Lines, except ſome Squadrons which made a Body of Reſerve, and the Moraſs being found marſhy, and unpaſſable for the Infantry, they quickly made five Bridges, with the Planks of their *Pontons*, and repaired the Bridge on the High Road, which the Enemy had deſtroyed. At the ſame Time, Prince *Eugene* cauſed the *Right* Wing to march along the Wood, to fall on the Flank of the *Elector*, who extended his *Left*, in Proportion, to prevent Prince *Eugene*'s gaining his Flank, and in Order to face him. The Enemy fearing alſo, leſt the *Confederates* ſhould gain the Flank of their *Right* Wing, by poſſeſſing themſelves of the Village of *Blenheim*, ſent ſeveral Detachments of Foot that Way, and poſted eight and twenty Battalions, and twelve Squadrons of Dragoons, in the Place: They alſo poſted ſome Infantry in the Villages of *Oberklau* and *Lutzingen*, which extreamly weakned their main *Battalia*, and was thought to be *one of the principal Cauſes of their Defeat*.

A great Overſight of the Enemy.

To favour the Paſſage of the *Left* Wing, the two Brigades of Foot, commanded by the Lord *Cutts*, were ordered to go over the Ri-

vulet

vulet (which had been founded, by the Duke's Order) firſt; which done, they poſted themſelves in a Bottom, near the Village of *Blenheim*, and, for ſeveral Hours, ſtood the Fire of ſix Pieces of Cannon, planted on the Eminence, near the Village, with wonderful Reſolution. 1704.

Cannonading begun on both Sides.

At the ſame Time, the Enemy fired very briſkly on the Bridges, that were laid for the Paſſage of their Infantry; But the *Confederates* ſoon returned the Compliment, from two of their Batteries, one *Engliſh*, and the other *Dutch*; and the Execution was conſiderable, on both Sides.

THE *French*, who own that they had 90 Pieces of Cannon, advantageouſly placed in a Line, before the whole Front of their Army, pretend they did great Execution from their Batteries, and that the *Allies* loſt 2000 Men before the Battle begun: But if it had been ſo, it redounds to their own Shame, to be ſo totally routed as they were, in the End, after ſo advantageous a Beginning.

ABOUT Noon, every Thing was ready, on the *Left* Wing, for the Attack; and, becauſe it was found, that, in ſeveral Places, the Horſe would want Faſcines, to paſs the Moraſs, Orders were given, that the Horſe of the ſecond Line ſhould provide themſelves, each Squadron with twenty. By this Time, a good Part of the Infantry, of the main *Battalia*, of the *Confederate* Army, had poſted themſelves in and about the Village of *Unterklau*, and the Prince of *Holſtein-Beck* poſſeſs'd himſelf of that of *Weiler* or *Schonbach*, and cauſed a Counter-battery to be erected there.

The General Attack made.

THESE Preparations being all made, the Duke of *Marlborough* gave Orders for a General

1704. neral Attack, which was begun, on the *Left*, a Quarter before one. Major-General *Wilks* made the first Onset, with the five *English* Battalions of *How*, *Ingoldsby*, *Marlborough*, *Row*, and *North* and *Gray*, and four Battalions of *Hessians*, supported by the Lord *Cutts*, and Major-General *St. Paul*, with eleven other Battalions; And the fifteen Squadrons of Horse, under the Command of Major-General *Wood*. The five *English* Battalions, led on by Brigadier *Row*, who charged, on Foot, at the Head of his own Regiment, with an unparallel'd Intrepidity, assaulted the Village of *Blenheim*, advancing to the very Muzzles of the Enemies Muskets; and some of the Officers exchanging Thrusts of Swords, with the *French*, thro' the *Pallisadoes*: But being expos'd to a Fire much superiour to theirs, they were soon forced to retire, leaving behind them near one third Part of their Men, either killed or mortally wounded, and amongst the latter, Brigadier *Row* himself.

The English *Infantry on the Left repulsed.*

In this Retreat, they were pursued by thirteen Squadrons of the *French Gendarmerie* and *Carabiniers*, who would have entirely cut them in Pieces, had not the *Hessian* Infantry stopp'd their Career, by the great Fire they made upon them. The *French* being repulsed, and forced to flee in their Turn, were chased by five Squadrons of *English* Horse, who, by this Time, had pass'd the Rivulet: but whilst they rallied themselves, some fresh Brigades of the Enemy, superiour in Number, charged the *English* Horse, with great Vigour, and obliged many of them to repass the Rivulet, with Precipitation. Here the *Hessians* again performed notable Service, putting the Enemy to

The French *obliged to flee in their Turn.*

Notable Service of the Hessians.

the Rout, by their continual Fire, and regaining a Pair of Colours, which they had taken from *Row*'s Regiment. Whilſt *Row*'s Brigade rallied themſelves, that of *Ferguſon*, commanded by himſelf, attack'd the Village of *Blenheim*, on the *Left*; but with no better Succeſs; and, tho' both returned, three or four Times to the Charge, with equal Vigour, yet they were both ſtill repuls'd, with like Diſadvantage; ſo that it was found impoſſible to force the Enemy, in that Poſt, without entirely ſacrificing the Infantry. 1704.

Forcing of Blenheim *found impracticable.*

THE *Engliſh* Foot having thus begun the Engagement, on the *Left*, the Horſe of the ſame Wing paſs'd the Rivulet, pell-mell, over againſt the *Center*, or main *Battalia*, of the Enemy. The Horſe of the *Right* Wing, likewiſe, paſs'd the Rivulet, having made ſeveral Paſſages, with divers Pieces of *Wood*, which they found at Hand, and a good Number of Faſcines. In a Word, all paſs'd and drew up, in Order of Battle, as well as the Ground would permit, on the other Side of the Rivulet. The Enemy gave them all the Time they could deſire, for that Purpoſe, keeping themſelves very quiet, on the Hill they were poſſeſs'd of, without deſcending into the Meadow, towards the Rivulet, inſomuch, that even the ſecond Line of their Horſe had Time to form themſelves: *And to this Capital Fault of the* French, *ſome principally aſcribe the Victory which enſued.*

The whole Army paſſes the Rivulet. *See Letter Q. below.*

An egregious Miſtake of the French.

IT has been ſaid, with what Truth or Grounds I ſhall leave undetermined, that this Neglect proceeded from an ill-timed Haughtineſs and Preſumption of the Marſhal *de Tallard*, who being informed, that the *Allies* were laying

Preſumption of Marſhal de Tallard.

1704. Bridges on the Rivulet, uſed this Expreſſion; *If they have not Bridges enough, I will lend them ſome*; And when they told him, that our Troops were actually coming over the Rivulet, is reported vainly to have ſaid, *Let them paſs, the more there comes over, the more we ſhall have to kill and take Priſoners.* But others, who make it their Buſineſs to excuſe that General, aſſure us, on the contrary, *That he had given poſitive Orders, not to let the Enemy paſs the Rivulet, but to charge them as they paſs'd, which Orders were not executed:* Monſ. *de Quincy* ſays, Orders were given to Monſ. *de Surlauben* (as I have obſerved above) to charge when a certain Number of them were paſs'd, and that Monſ. *de Clerambault* ſhould remain in *Blenheim*, which ſeems in ſome Meaſure, to favour the Report of the Marſhal's Preſumption.

See the Letter Q. below.

The two Armies come to a cloſer Engagement.

At Length, the Cavalry of the *Confederates Left* Wing marching up, towards the Hill, that of the Enemy began to move, and charged them, with a great deal of Fury. The *French* Infantry, which was in the Village of *Blenheim*, made, at the ſame Time, a terrible Fire, from behind ſome Hedges of that Village, on the Flank of the *Confederate* Cavalry, which were advanced too near; So that the firſt Line of Horſe, of their *Left*, from the Head of the Line, to the three Regiments of the Troops of *Hannover*, *viz.* the *Electoral* Regiment, that of *Voigt*, and that of *Noyelles*, was put into ſuch Diſorder, that Part of them retired even beyond the Rivulet. Hereupon, Lieutenant General *Bulau*, Commander in Chief of the Troops of *Lunenburg*, brought up his own Regiment of Dragoons, and two of the Troops of *Zell*, *viz.* that of Major-General *Villers*, and that of Brigadier

Brigadier *Bothmar*, from the ſecond Line, which charged the Enemy's Horſe, with ſo much Vigour, that they broke them, and drove them beyond the ſecond Rivulet, called *Meulweyer*, and from thence to the very Hedges of the Village of *Blenheim*. This gave Time to thoſe who had given Ground, to repaſs the Rivulet, and to form a ſecond Line, behind thoſe Regiments of Dragoons, and ſome others that had joined them; So that thoſe Dragoons remained in the firſt Line, all the remaining Time of the Action. 1704.

Part of the Enemy's Cavalry broken, and obliged to retire.

THE Cavalry of the *Confederates Left* Wing, having, by this Succeſs, gained the Advantage of forming themſelves entirely, in Order of Battle, advanced leiſurely to the Top of the Hill, and charged ſeveral Times the Enemy's Horſe, who were always routed; But who, nevertheleſs, rallied every Time, tho' at a conſiderable Diſtance, and thereby gave the *Allies* an Opportunity of gaining Ground. The latter preparing to make a freſh Attack, the Marſhal *de Tallard* cauſed ten of his Battalions to advance, to fill the Intervals of his Cavalry, in Order to make a laſt Effort; Which the Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, General of the Horſe, and the Lieutenant-Generals *Lumley*, *Bulau*, *Hompeſch* and *Ingoldſby*, perceiving, they cauſed three Battalions, of the Troops of *Zell*, to come up to ſuſtain the Horſe. They then returned to the Charge; But the Superiour Fire of the Enemy's Infantry put their firſt Line into ſome Diſorder; So that it ſhrunk back, and remained, for ſome Time, at about ſixty Paces Diſtance from the Enemy, neither Party advancing againſt the other.

1704. AT Length, the *Allies* renewed the Charge, and they did it with ſo much Vigour and Succeſs, that having broke and routed the Enemy's Horſe, the ten Battalions, who found themſelves abandoned by them, were entirely cut in Pieces; None eſcaping but a very few Soldiers, who threw themſelves on the Ground, as dead, to ſave their Lives.

More of the Enemy's Horſe broke and routed

Ten of the Enemy's Battalions cut in Pieces.

Superiour Conduct of the Duke of Marlb.

IT may not be improper to obſerve, in this Place, that the *French* themſelves are obliged to allow the Superiour Conduct of our *Britiſh* Hero. " During all theſe Charges (ſays Monſ. " *de Quincy*, and we find the ſame Remark, in " other *French* Hiſtorians) the Duke of *Marl-* " *borough*, having found the Poſt of *Blenheim* " impracticable, only made a Shew (of at- " tacking that Poſt) with a Front of Batta- " lions, out of Muſket-Shot. Theſe he caus'd " to advance by *Platoons* only, who, having " diſcharged their Fire-Arms, retired, and " gave Way to others who reliev'd them, and " did the ſame. This was done, during the " ſeveral Charges of their Cavalry, in Order " to keep all the Troops, which were in the " Village, in Action, while the Duke of *Marl-* " *borough* march'd the Strength of his Troops, " oppoſite to the *Center* of Monſ. *de Tallard*'s " Army, where, he had obſerv'd, there was " no Infantry. If this had been perceived " (continues my Author, and that it was not, " is an inconteſtable Proof of our General's " *Superiour Conduct*) it would have been eaſy " to have prevented it, by marching thither " all the Troops which were in the ſecond " Line of the Village, where they were of no " Manner of Service; But unhappily for us,

" we

" we did not diſcover it, and the *Allies* knew 1704
" how to take Advantage of our Neglect.

MARSHAL *de Tallard* rallied his broken Cavalry behind ſome Tents, which were ſtill ſtanding in his Camp, but ſeing Things in this deſperate Condition, he reſolved to draw off his Dragoons and Infantry, out of the Village of *Blenheim*. He thereupon ſent one of his *Aids de Camp*, to the Marſhal *de Marſin*, *to deſire him to face the Enemy with ſome Troops, on the Right of the Village of* Oberklau, *to keep them in Play, and favour the Retreat of the Infantry that was in* Blenheim: But Monſ. *de Marſin* informed this Meſſenger, *that he had too much on his Hands, in the Front of his Village* (where he had to deal with the Duke of *Marlborough* in Perſon) *and the Reſt of the Line, to ſpare any Troops; For he was ſo far from being victorious, that all he could do was to maintain his Ground.*

Deſperate Condition of the Enemy.

See Letter Q. below.

IN the mean Time, Lieutenant-General *Ingoldſby* made the Prince of *Heſſe*, and the Lieutenant-Generals *Lumley* and *Hompeſch* ſenſible, how eaſy it would be entirely to defeat the *French* Cavalry, by charging them on their *Right* Flank: Which Advice being put in Execution, with a great deal of Vigour, the Enemy were ſoon brought into Diſorder, and put to Flight, and their Rout was entire. Part of them endeavour'd to gain the Bridge they had on the *Danube*, between *Blenheim* and *Hochſtadt*: The other Part, among whom were the *Gens d'Armes*, were cloſely purſued by the Dragoons of *Bothmar*, and thoſe who eſcap'd the Slaughter, threw themſelves into the *Danube*, where moſt of them were drowned.

The French *entirely routed.*

IN

1704. In this particular it is, that the *French* Accounts differ the moſt from ours: They allow but a very few to have been drowned in the *Danube*; (Monſ. *de Quincy* reduces the Number to leſs than fifty;) But they, at the ſame Time, own, that Part of the *Gens d'Armes*, with ſeveral General Officers, were ſurrounded by the *Confederate* Cavalry, and that of thoſe, who attempted to fight their Way thro', a great many were taken Priſoners.

Those who fled towards *Hochſtadt* rallied once more, and made a Shew as if they deſigned to ſuccour the Reſt; But the Regiment of *Bothmar* faced them, and kept them in Awe, for ſome Time, till being, at Length, joined, by ſome other Regiments, the Enemy fled full Gallop to *Hochſtadt*.

Marſhal de Tallard *taken Priſoner.*

The Marſhal *de Tallard* was ſurrounded by the Fugitives, and taken near a Mill, behind the Village of *Sonderen*, not far from the *Danube*, by Monſ. *de Boinenburg*, a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Troop of *Heſſe*, and *Aid de Camp* to the Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel:* He choſe rather to ſurrender, than to run the Hazard of Drowning, as had been the Fate of moſt of his Cavalry, which had taken to the *Danube*, to eſcape from the Purſuit of the Victorious *Confederate* Troops.* He was taken in Sight of the Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, as his Highneſs himſelf obſerv'd, in a Letter written to the *States-General*, the Night after the Battle. The Marquis *de Mantperoux*, General of Horſe, *de Seppeville*, *de Silly*, and *de la Valiere*, Major-Generals; Monſieur *de la Meſſiliere*, St. *Pouange*, *de Ligondais*, and ſeveral other Officers of Note, were likewiſe made Priſoners, in this Defeat.

Other Officers of Note taken.

* *See Letter Q. below.*

And

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AND here it may not be an improper Digreſſion, to obſerve what a Power Fear and Conſternation can have over a Body of Troops, when they are once poſſeſs'd with it, of which we have a flagrant Inſtance before us. Theſe Troops, which compos'd the *Right* of the *French* Army, not only fled before the Victorious *Engliſh*, but did it in the utmoſt Confuſion and Diſorder, without any Regard to the Command of their Superiours, or Obſerving whither or which Way they fled. They look'd upon themſelves as loſt, beyond Hopes of Recovery, and giving Way to Deſpair, ſuffer'd themſelves to be drove to Perdition, like a Flock of Sheep to the Slaughter. A whole Body of their Cavalry, the beſt and moſt renown'd of their whole Army, ſeiz'd with the ſame Pannick, hurried away the Marſhal *de Tallard*, with them, in their Flight, and, void of all Thought, threw themſelves, by whole Squadrons, into the *Danube*, Men and Horſes, Officers and Troopers. Some few had the good Fortune to eſcape, but much the greater Part, to avoid an uncertain Death, which at worſt, could but have overtaken them in the Field of Battle, and laid them down, in the Bed of Honour, ruſh'd upon a certain and ignominious Death in the River. The impotent Marſhal, not capable of Stemming this Torrent of Deſpair, was obliged to ſurrender Priſoner of War, with ſeveral other General Officers, who were in his Company.

The great Power of Fear and Conſternation.

DURING theſe Tranſactions, at the Village of *Blenheim*, and in the *Center*, the Duke of *Marlborough* cauſed the Village of *Oberklau*, which was the Marſhal *de Marſin*'s Quarters, to be attacked, by the Brigade of *Berenſdorff*, conſiſting

The Village of Oberklau attack'd with Succeſs.

1704. conſiſting of ten Battalions. The Prince of *Holſtein-Beck*, who commanded them, as Major-General, and who came to the Army but the Day before, paſs'd the Rivulet, at the Head of two Battalions, with great Reſolution; But, as the *Imperial* Cavalry, which was to have ſupported him, were wanting in their Duty, and kept Muſket-ſhot from him, he was hardly got over, when ſeven or eight of the Enemy's Battalions fell on him, with great Fury, before he could form his two Battalions; So that one of them, that of *Goor*, was almoſt entirely cut in Pieces, and the Prince himſelf deſperately wounded and taken Priſoner. They put the Prince, wounded as he was, upon a Waggon, in Order to carry him away; But Fortune afterwards ſhifting Hands, he was retaken in that Condition, with three or four bleeding Wounds on him, of which he afterwards died.

NOTWITHSTANDING this firſt Shock, theſe Battalions were no ſooner ſupported, by ſome *Daniſh* and *Hannoverian* Cavalry, than they charged a ſecond Time; But with no better Succeſs. 'Till, upon the third Charge, the Duke of *Marlborough*, having himſelf brought up ſome Squadrons, which were ſupported by others of the Body of Reſerve, made them advance with ſome Battalions beyond the Rivulet; Whereupon the Enemy began to retire.

The Enemy obliged by the Duke to retire here likewiſe.

HIS Grace thought it now Time to repair towards the Attack of the Horſe, where he, indeed, found the Action already decided in his Favour, as we have ſeen above; Yet he came Time enough to have his Share of puſhing the thirty Squadrons of *French* Horſe, and, among them, moſt of the *Gens d'Armes*, into the *Danube*.

As

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Farther Succeſs of the D. of Marlb.

As ſoon as the Duke had perform'd theſe conſiderable Services, the Action in the *Center* being now decided, in Favour of the *Confederates*, his Grace cauſed Part of his victorious Cavalry to halt, to obſerve the Motion of that Part of the Enemy, which, by this Time, was drawn up beyond the Moraſs of *Hochſtadt*. During this Halt, the *Elector* of *Bavaria* was perceived making his Retreat from the Village of *Lutzingen*; Upon which, a Meſſenger was diſpatch'd to General *Hompeſch* (who, with ſeveral Squadrons, was purſuing the Enemy towards *Morſelingen*, and who had already overtaken two of their Battalions, and forced them to lay down their Arms) with Orders to face about and march to join thoſe who halted; As well to prevent the *Elector*'s Falling upon *Hompeſch*'s *Rear*, as to form a Body, in Order to charge that Prince, who march'd in great Haſte, but in pretty good Order, with his Squadrons on the *Left*, and his Battalions on the *Right*.

His great Prudence.

BEFORE General *Hompeſch* returned from his Chace, the *Right* Wing of the *Confederate* Army was perceived at ſome Diſtance behind the *Elector*; And appearing to be Part of his Army, marching in ſuch Manner as might eaſily have flanked them, had the Duke of *Marlborough* immediately charged him, his Grace, with great Prudence, ſent out a Party to view them. During this Time, the *Elector* continued marching off, with great Precipitation, till he reach'd the Moraſs of *Morſelingen*.

The French, *in* Blenheim, *ſurrender Priſoners.*

THE *French* Horſe being entirely defeated, and the *Confederates* Maſters of all the Ground, which was between the Enemy's Left, and the Village of *Blenheim*, the eight and twenty Battalions,

1704. talions, and twelve Squadrons of Dragoons, which were in that Village, found themſelves cut off from the Reſt of their Army; And deſpairing of being able to make their Eſcape, after a weak Attempt to repulſe the whole Infantry which ſurrounded the Village, they, at Length, capitulated, about eight, in the Evening, laid down their Arms, deliver'd their Colours and Standards, and ſurrender'd themſelves Priſoners of War, on Condition, that the Officers ſhould not be ſearch'd. The Duke, who upon all Occaſions, ſhew'd a generous and tender Diſpoſition to his Priſoners, not only granted this Condition, but, as an additional Favour, ſuffer'd the Officers to wear their Swords: And, Night coming on, the *Engliſh* Troops, to whom this little Army had ſurrender'd, formed a Lane at *Blenheim*, in which the Priſoners were enclos'd, while they continued on their Arms, all Night, to ſecure them.

See Letter L. and Q. below.

Only two Battalions of the whole French *Infantry eſcape.*

By this, it appears, that of the whole *French* Infantry, which the Marſhal *de Tallard* had brought to the Aſſiſtance of the *Elector* of *Bavaria*, conſiſting of forty Battalions, all Veterans, and the very Choice of the *French* Infantry, only two Battalions eſcaped; Since eight and twenty were here made Priſoners, and ten were entirely cut in Pieces, as we have ſeen above.

Some Reflections on the Cauſe of it.

The Fate of the ten Battalions, which were entirely cut off, and whoſe Slaughter thoſe in *Blenheim* could not but know, without Doubt brought a Pannick upon them, which, in ſome Meaſure, cauſed this tame Surrender, for which their Commanders were ſeverely (and, indeed, juſtly) cenſur'd, even by their own Countrymen, as having ſo quietly given up the choice

See Letter N. below.

Infantry

Infantry of *France*, and brought ſuch a Stain upon the Nation, as the Gaining of ten Battles will ſcarce wipe off again. One of their own Generals, ſpeaking of their Puſillanimity, ſays, *Monſ. de Clerambault* (who commanded thoſe Dragoons and Infantry in Chief) *without taking a Reſolution worthy of his Name, with a powerful Body, which was yet entire, as ſoon as he ſaw the Rout of our Cavalry, cauſed his Poſtilion to ſound the* Danube, *and, throwing himſelf into it, was drowned.* The Marquis *de Quincy*, to excuſe this Puſillanimity of Monſ. *de Clerambault*, ſays, it was reported, that his Horſe, being frighten'd by a Cannon-Ball which paſs'd near him, threw his Rider into the *Danube*, where he was drowned. The ſame Author draws, likewiſe, from hence, an Argument to excuſe the tame Surrender of theſe Troops, "who (ſays he) if they had not loſt their Com-"mander, might eaſily have retreated; But "the Marquis *de Blanzac*, who commanded "under him, knowing nothing of this Miſ-"fortune, waited for his Orders". The ſame General farther adds: *The Duke of* Marlborough, *judging rightly, that there were old Troops, in that Place, the overcoming of which would coſt him dear, made Uſe of Monſ.* Deſnonville, *his Priſoner, to exhort them to accept of their Lives.* This (the Truth of which we have no Reaſon to doubt, the *French* themſelves allowing it, in their Accounts,) is another Mark of the Duke's conſummate Prudence, in not unneceſſarily hazarding the Lives of the Troops under his Command, and expoſing them to apparent Danger, when the ſame End was to be attained by other Means: For, it is certain, ſo large a Body, poſted in a Village ſo well fortified, that it

1704

See Letter Q. below.

1704. it had been able to reſiſt the ſeveral ſtrenuous Attacks, which the *Confederates* had, that Day, already made upon it (as we have ſeen above) if they had continued to defend themſelves, with the ſame Reſolution, might have given the *Confederates* a great deal of Trouble, and would not have been ſubdued without great Bloodſhed and Slaughter: Whereas, now, *that Infantry* (to uſe the Expreſſion of a *French* Officer) *is the Laughing Stock of Nations.*

See Letter Q. below.

HAVING given an Account of the Succeſs of the *Confederates*, on the *Left* Wing, I come now to give an Account, what paſs'd on the *Right*, under the Command of Prince *Eugene*, who labour'd under great Difficulties, having to deal with the *Elector* of *Bavaria*, and the Marſhal *de Marſin*, both old Generals, of great Courage, Conduct, and Experience; eſpecially the former, who had commanded in all the Wars of *Flanders*, in King *William*'s Time, and had, before that, commanded the *Imperial* Army, in *Hungary*, and, particularly, in the Year 1688, took the famous City of *Belgrade*, from the *Turks*. Such Generals, I ſay, Prince *Eugene* had to deal with. The Infantry of this Wing, conſiſted only in ſeven Battalions of *Daniſh*, and eleven of *Pruſſian* Forces; but his Cavalry was ninety-two Squadrons of the Troops of the *Emperour*, the King of *Pruſſia*, the Circle of *Suabia*, *Wirtemberg*, and other Princes and *States* of the *Empire*; tho' his Foot, in the End, proved moſt victorious, as we ſhall ſee below. The Enemy, on their Side, had, in their *Left* Wing, thirty Battalions, and tho' I do not any where find the preciſe Number of Squadrons they had in this Wing; yet, by the Number we find Marſhal *de*

Pr. Eugene's *Succeſs on the* Right.

Force of the Confederates Right, *and the Enemy's* Left *Wing.*

de Tallard had in the other Wing, and the General Account we have of their whole Force, their Number, on this Side, muſt have been about ſeventy or eighty; and they had poſted fourteen Battalions in the Village of *Oberklau*, the Attack of which, the Duke of *Marlborough* had taken upon him (as I have ſaid above) with his Infantry. 1704

THE Horſe of the *Right* Wing of the *Confederates* were poſted, moſt of them, over-againſt *Oberklau*; but the eighteen Battalions, who were to the *Right* of all, had a great Way to march before they could get up the Hill; And, beſides, the Paſſage of the Rivulet being very difficult, the Attack could not begin, on that Side, ſo ſoon as Prince *Eugene* could have wiſh'd. Moreover, the Troops of the *Right*, which poſted themſelves in a Bottom, not far from *Lutzingen*, were obliged to remain expos'd, during three Hours, to the Cannonading of the Enemy, without being able to uſe their Artillery, 'till, at Length, a Counter-Battery was raiſed, near the Wood.

The Infantry of the Right *Wing ſucceſsful.*

THO' the *Right* could not charge 'till half an Hour after the *Left* had begun the Attack, yet they were pretty ſucceſsful at firſt; for the Infantry, notwithſtanding they were much inferiour in Number to that of the Enemy, ſtood their Ground againſt them, with great Firmneſs and Reſolution, and the Cavalry broke that of the Enemy's firſt Line; but they were ſo vigorouſly repulſed by that of their ſecond Line, that Part of them were driven, in great Confuſion, beyond the Rivulet; and the Infantry, having no more Horſe to ſuſtain them, was obliged, notwithſtanding the great Reſiſtance they made, to retreat, 3 or 400 Paces, with

See Letter G. *below.*

The Cavalry repulſed.

1704: conſiderable Loſs, eſpecially the two Battalions, which were in the *Flank*; inſomuch that Things were, at that Time, in a very bad Condition, on that Side. The Infantry ſtood firm near the Wood, and Prince *Eugene* having rallied the Horſe, brought them up again to the Charge; but they were repulſed a ſecond Time. They were rallied once more, and, for near three Quarters of an Hour, they ſtood within about ſixty Paces of the Enemy, neither Side making any Motion. The *Confederates* made uſe of that Time to poſt the Troops advantageouſly, and to put them in Order, after which they charged a third Time. The Cavalry had, at firſt, ſome Advantage over that of the Enemy; but were afterwards repulſed by them: Whereas their Infantry broke and overthrew that with which they were engaged, tho' they could not march up to them, but thro' a moſt difficult Ground, where a ſmall Number of Troops was ſufficient to ſtop a greater. Upon this, Prince *Eugene* left his Cavalry, ſeing little Likelyhood of being able to rally them again, and put himſelf at the Head of the Infantry, who improving the Diſorder, into which they had put that of the Enemy, purſued them over Hills, Dales, Rocks, and Woods, and, having charged them again, entirely routed them, and continued the Chace for above an Hour's March, as far as the Village of *Lutzingen*. Here Prince *Eugene* cauſed his victorious Foot to make a Stand, to give Time to his Cavalry, which had rallied a great Way behind, to rejoin them.

The Cavalry repulſed again.

The Infantry victorious.

See Letter C. *and* D. *below.*

IT is very remarkable, that at this laſt Charge, when Prince *Eugene*'s Infantry de-

feated, with ſo much Vigour, that of the Enemy, but two of their Squadrons ſtood by them, notwithſtanding which, they purſued their Advantage, and gave the Enemy no Time to recover themſelves. The *French* Horſe, daunted by their Succeſs, retir'd leiſurely. Prince *Eugene*'s Horſe follow'd them, the ſame Pace, 'till having joined their Foot, the whole Wing continued the Chace, for the Space of an Hour, with all the Chearfulneſs, which could be expected from Troops wearied with an Action of above five Hours, after a March of ten Hours, in an extream hot Day, and follow'd the Enemy, as far as the Villages of *Morſelingen* and *Teiſſenhoven*, where they made a Shew as if they would ſtand their Ground, that they might gain Time to paſs a great Moraſs, and reach *Dillingen* and *Lawingen*. 1704.

The Cavalry rallies, and rejoins the Foot.

The whole Wing purſues the Enemy;

As ſoon as the Action, on the *Left* Wing, was decided, the Duke of *Marlborough* diſpos'd himſelf to march, with Part of that Wing, towards the Village of *Oberklau*, to charge the *Left* of the Enemy on their *Flank*, and to ſuccour their own *Right*, under Prince *Eugene*; but he was informed by the Way, by one of that Prince's *Aids de Camp*, that there was no farther Occaſion for it; that all was recovered, on his Highneſs's Side, and that the Enemy had abandon'd the Villages of *Oberklau* and *Lutzingen*, after having ſet them on Fire.

And obtains a compleat Victory.

THUS this ſtupendous Battle, which, during near five Hours, was fought with dubious Fortune, ended, at laſt, in a moſt compleat Victory, on that Side, which, before the Engagement, had a viſible Diſadvantage; and the Succeſs of this great Day, under the Bleſſing of the *All-ruling Providence*, may juſtly be attributed

Cauſes of this Victory.

1704. tributed to the invincible Courage and Intrepidity of the *Confederate* Troops, and to the Conduct and Bravery of their Generals; tho' the Enemy themſelves, as I have ſaid above, were guilty of ſome Over-ſights, which did not a little facilitate their Overthrow.

The Duke of Marlborough *diſpatches a Meſſenger to* England.

THE Victory being thus compleatly gain'd, beyond all human Poſſibility of the Enemy's making any further Stand, the Duke, even while he was in hot Purſuit of the Fugitives, and had then been ſixteen Hours on Horſeback, thought his Happineſs not compleat, 'till he had diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to *England*, that his Royal Miſtreſs, and the whole Nation, might partake with him, in the univerſal Joy, occaſioned by this Succeſs: He, therefore, ſent away Colonel *Pack*, one of his *Aids de Camp*, with a Couple of Lines to his Ducheſs, written on Horſeback, with a Black-lead Pencil, on a Leaf torn out of his Pocket-book.

See Letter B. *below.*

HAVING thus given a Deſcription of this famous Action, according to what I have been able to collect from the beſt Writers and Relations, as well on our Side of the Queſtion, as from ſome Accounts given by the Enemy; I had Thoughts of giving the Reader a Tranſlation of the moſt Circumſtantial Account I have ſeen, on the *French* Side; I mean that given by the Marquis *de Quincy*, *Brigadier in the* French *King's Army*, *Lieutenant General of the Artillery*, *and Knight of the Military Order of* St. Lewis, in his *Hiſtoire Militaire de* LOUIS *le Grand*: But upon comparing this Account with the foregoing Relation, I find ſo little Difference, that it would be ſuperfluous; eſpecially as I have already re-

mark'd

remark'd, wherein they chiefly differ: And, beſides, there not being the leaſt Circumſtance, even in this Account, tho' proceeding from the Pen of an Enemy, but what, in every Reſpect, redounds to the Glory of the two incomparable *Heroes*, who commanded the *Confederate* Troops, and who, in the Manner I have ſo amply deſcrib'd above, triumph'd over the *French* and *Bavarians*. 1704.

Juſt Encomium of the D. of Marlb.

As the whole Action was chiefly managed and directed by the Duke of *Marlborough*; ſo the greateſt Share of the Glory is certainly his Due; and, indeed, it was at that Time, accordingly aſcrib'd to him, both by Friends and Enemies; A greater Inſtance of which cannot be, than that the *Emperour*, cauſing a Noble Pillar to be erected, in the Field of Battle, with a *Latin* Inſcription on it: He, therein, attributes this Victory to the Duke of *Marlborough*, concluding with theſe Words:

Exercitui Victori, cum immortali Gloria, imperavit JOHANNES, *Dux de* MARLBOROUGH, ANGLUS.

Of Prince Eugene;

JUSTICE, however, obliges me likewiſe to own, that Prince *Eugene*'s Share of the Glory of this great Day, tho' not equal to that of the Duke, did not fall very ſhort of it: And it is acknowledged on all Hands, that they both performed the Parts of conſummate Generals; Both gave their Commands with all the Clearneſs and Compoſedneſs imaginable; expoſed their Perſons, wherever their Preſence was neceſſary, with the greateſt Unconcernment, and preſerved their Temper and Preſence of Mind, in the moſt preſent Dangers. The Duke, for his Part, very narrowly eſcap'd

1704. being kill'd by a Cannon-Ball, which grazed under the Belly of his Horſe, and covered him with Dirt. The Prince had a Horſe kill'd under him, and was ſo near being taken, that one of the Enemy's Dragoons, among others, who rode up to him for that End, had hold of his Coat, when an *Imperial* Dragoon firing at him, kill'd him, and others coming up to his Aſſiſtance, the Enemy made off: And tho' his Highneſs was always in the thickeſt of the Enemy's Fire, he had the good Fortune to come off unhurt.

THIS Prince himſelf was not more forward, in ſending Relations of this wonderful Succeſs, to the ſeveral Courts of *Germany*, than he was in attributing it chiefly to the Valour and Conduct of the Duke of *Marlborough*; I, my ſelf, have ſeen one of them to the Court of *Zell*, in which he is very ſanguine in his Praiſes of our *Engliſh Hero*.

WE muſt not, however, attribute the Glory of this Day, wholly to our two great Commanders; And they themſelves were too equitable, not to allow the Generals and other Officers, and the Troops, under their Command, a large Share of it, without leaving it to Fame alone to make that Diviſion, of which the *Roman Orator* gives us the following elegant Deſcription: *Nam bellicas Laudes ſolent quidam extenuare verbis, eaſque detrahere Ducibus, communicare cum Militibus, ne propriæ ſint Imperatorum, & certè* in Armis, *Militum virtus, locorum Opportunitas, auxilia Sociorum, claſſes, commeatus, multùm juvant, maximam verò partem quaſi ſuo jure Fortuna ſibi vindicat: Et, quidquid eſt proſperè geſtum, id penè omne ducit ſuum.*

THE

THE other Generals of the *Confederate* Army, I ſay, diſcharged their reſpective Commands, with great Prudence, Activity and Valour: But, among the Reſt, the Hereditary Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, and the Prince of *Hannover*, Generals; *Lumley*, *Hompeſch* and *Bulau*, Lieutenant-Generals; *Wood* and *Villers*, Major-Generals of Horſe; The Lord *Cutts*, the Lord *Orkney* and *Ingoldſby*, Lieutenant-Generals; The Prince of *Holſtein-Beck*, *Wilkins* and *St. Paul*, Major-Generals; And *Row*, *Ferguſon* and *Bernſdorff*, Brigadiers of Foot, deſerve particularly to be mentioned, for their great Bravery and prudent Conduct. 1704. *And of the other Generals.*

ALL the Troops, in general, fought with extraordinary Valour and Undauntedneſs; Tho' their Courage may have differ'd in ſome Circumſtances, according to the particular Temper of the ſeveral Nations, which compoſed the *Confederate* Army. The *Engliſh* Foot ſhew'd their natural Fire, Briſkneſs and Intrepidity, in their ſeveral Attacks of the Village of *Blenheim*; The *Pruſſian* and *Daniſh* Infantry, their innate Firmneſs and Reſolution, on Prince *Eugene*'s Side, where they recovered all; And the *German* Horſe perform'd Wonders in the *Center*, particularly *Bothmar*'s Regiment of Dragoons. *Bravery of the Troops.*

HAVING thus recorded the deſerved Praiſes of the Generals and Soldiers, on the Side of the *Confederates*, Hiſtorical Juſtice and Impartiality call upon me to give the Enemy likewiſe their Due; And here, I am obliged to allow, that as many of their Troops, as engaged, fought with Vigour and Courage; Inſomuch that had their Generals performed their Parts, with anſwerable Prudence and Forecaſt, it is probable the Fortune of that Day might have remained *Praiſe and Cenſure of the Enemy.*

1704. undetermined. The *Elector* of *Bavaria*, it is true, maintained his Reputation of a Brave and Experienc'd Commander; Nor was he ill-ſeconded by the Marſhal *de Marſin*; (Tho' ſome have been of Opinion, that Monſ. *de Marſin* was highly blame-worthy, in refuſing Aſſiſtance to Monſ. *de Tallard*, as I have ſaid above;) But then, the Marſhal *de Tallard*, and the Generals of the Enemy's *Right* Wing, were guilty of two inexcuſable Faults; Firſt in throwing ſo great a Number of their Men, into the Village of *Blenheim*, whereby their *Center* was extreamly weakened; And, ſecondly, by ſuffering our Troops to paſs the Rivulet, without any conſiderable Oppoſition, as I have already obſerved more at large above.

The Duke of Marlb. *entertains two* Fr. *Generals, after the Battle.*

It is remarkable, that, after the Fight, two *French* Generals were entertained at Supper, by the Duke of *Marlborough*, who, with his accuſtomed *Heroick* Modeſty, endeavour'd to divert the Diſcourſe, from the Buſineſs of the Day; But the *French* Officers would ſtill be bringing it upon the Carpet; And one of them ſaid; *That there was a Critical Moment, in which Victory had been abſolutely theirs, if the* Gens d'Armes *had done their Duty.* Of the ſame Opinion were, likewiſe, all thoſe who would juſtify the Marſhal *de Tallard*'s Conduct; Which being known to the *Gens d'Armes*, they wrote a Letter to one of the *French* King's Chief Miniſters, to clear themſelves of that Aſperſion; Of which I ſhall ſubjoin a Copy.

An Obſervation made by one of them.

See Letter R. *below.*

A PASSAGE, which happened ſoon after Marſhal *de Tallard* was taken, ſhews into what Perplexity his Mind was caſt, by this Misfortune. The Lord *Tunbridge*, one of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s *Aids de Camp*, came to the

French

French General, to offer him his Service, telling him he was going to the Duke; Upon which the Marſhal deſired his Lordſhip to tell his Grace, *That if he would let thoſe poor People* (ces pauvres Gens) *alone*, (meaning the *French* in *Blenheim*) *and ſuffer them to retreat, he would ſend Orders not to fire upon the* Confederates. This unreaſonable Propoſal being reported to the Duke, his Grace ſaid; *He wondered Monſ.* de Tallard *did not conſider, that he had no Command where he now was.* 1704.

An inconſiderate Propoſal made by the M. de Tallard.

The Duke's prudent Anſwer.

THE ſame Night, the Marſhal, with two or three more, were carried, in the Duke's Coach, to the Prince of *Heſſe*'s Quarters, where his Grace, making him a Viſit, the next Day, told him, *He was ſorry, that ſuch a Misfortune ſhould fall perſonally on one, for whom he had ſo great an Eſteem.* Monſ. *de Tallard* returned the Compliment, by telling his Grace, *That he had the Honour of having vanquiſhed the beſt Troops in the World.* To which the Duke wittily replied; *He thought his own Troops were the beſt in the World, ſince they had conquered thoſe, which the Marſhal accounted to be ſo.*

Compliments which paſs'd between the Duke and the Marſhal.

THIS *Victory*, tho' as great and compleat in itſelf, as any ever was gained, was ſtill greater in it's Conſequences. It was introductory to all the *Succeſs* which follow'd, during the Courſe of this War, either in *Italy* or *Flanders*; And certain it is, that had it not been for this *Victory*, the *Emperour* could not have maintained himſelf, in his Dignity and Eſtates, and muſt, this very Year, have been forced from his Capital; For the *Hungarians* were now almoſt univerſally in Rebellion; And whilſt the *Elector* of *Bavaria* penetrated into *Upper Auſtria*, and had taken *Lintz*, the chief Town thereof, the *Hungarians*

Conſequences of this Victory.

1704. *Hungarians* ravaged the *Lower Auſtria*, and even threatned *Vienna* itſelf: For the Rebels, at this Time, wanted nothing but Artillery, and other Neceſſaries for a Siege, to have taken both that, and the ſtrongeſt Towns in *Hungary*; Which Deficiency would ſoon have been ſupplied, by *French* Mony, had not the *Glorious Day of Blenheim* prevented it, and obliged the Monarch of *France* to empty his Treaſures, in Recruiting his Forces, and filling his Magazines, where it was more immediately neceſſary. The *Emperour* was, alſo, at this Time, ſo low, that his Forces in *Italy*, upon the *Po*, were almoſt dwindled into nothing, and the poor Remains of them had been obliged to retire into the *Trentin*, while the Duke of *Savoy* was very hard preſs'd, by the Duke *de Vendoſme*, and his whole Country in great Danger of being made an abſolute Conqueſt: But this great and unexpected Succeſs gave a new Turn to the Poſture of Affairs, on every Side; And *Lewis* the *Great* had afterwards ſuch a Train of ill Succeſs, that he had, in the Courſe of this War, as much Reaſon to complain of the Frowns of Fortune, as he had before to exult in the Smiles thereof. And tho', in all the Advices, which we received from the *Emperour*'s Territories, before this Battle, great Care was taken to put the beſt Colour upon every Thing, in Favour of His *Imperial* Majeſty, and to gloſs over his deplorable Circumſtances; Yet, in His Letter of Thanks to the Duke of *Marlborough*, on Account of this Victory, He owns them pretty freely.

See Letter M. below.

THE

1704.

A

THE Enemy's Loſs, according to their own Confeſſion, in ſeveral intercepted Letters, amounted to near 40,000 Men, in which Number they included 4 or 5,000 Men whom they loſt in their precipitate Retreat to the *Black Forreſt*, either by Deſertion, or by the Purſuit of the *Huſſars* and Peaſants, who made a great Slaughter of the Stragglers. And, indeed, if it be conſidered, that after an exact Computation, the Number of the Priſoners the *Confederates* made, exceeded 13,000 (ſome Accounts ſay, 14,000) Men, of which above 1200 were Officers; That they cut in Pieces 10 *French* Battalions, on their *Right*, and overthrew, into the *Danube*, near 30 Squadrons of Horſe and Dragoons, moſt of whom were drowned; That their *Left* Wing did alſo ſuffer very much, eſpecially the Foot; That, beſides 95 Officers, who were found at *Hochſtadt*, *Dillingen* and *Lawingen*, the Number of the wounded, whom (as it has been ſaid, from good Authority) they brought off from *Ulm*, exceeded 7,000 Men, of which 1000 were Officers, and the great Number of Officers found buried in the Villages, thro' which the Army, afterwards, marched; If all this, I ſay, be conſidered, it muſt be owned, that theſe Letters ſpoke within Compaſs. This alſo agrees with what Monſ. *de Marſin* wrote to the King of *France*, ſoon after, *viz.* that the *Elector* of *Bavaria*, and himſelf, had, the Night before conducted to *Ulm*, one and thirty Battalions, and ſixty-two Squadrons, which is all that I can find eſcaped from this Battle, of the *French* and *Bavarians*, except Stragglers;

The Loſs of the Enemy in the Battle.

See Letters K. *and* L. *below.*

See Letter C. D. *and* E. *below.*

See Letter H. *below.*

See Letter G. *below.*

1704. Stragglers; And we need not doubt, but Monſ. *de Maſſin* made the beſt of his Story to the King, as well in this, as when he told him, in his Letter, *they had loſt* 10,000 *Men, beſides what were Taken, and very many wounded.*

THO' the *French* have been induſtrious enough in concealing their particular Loſſes; Yet it is known, that the Count *de Verue*, General of the Horſe was kill'd, Monſieur *de Buſen*, and Count *de Clerambault*, Lieutenant Generals, drown'd in the *Danube*: That Meſſieurs de *Blainville* and *Sarlauben*, Lieutenant-Generals, died of their Wounds; That Monſieur *de Marillac*, Brigadier, only Son to the Counſellor of State of that Name, the Duke *d'Humieres*, Brother to the Duke *d'Aumont*, the Marquiſſes *d'Arpajou*, *de Hautefort* and *de Beringhen*, were either killed or drowned, and that the Marquis *de la Baulme*, only Son to the Marſhal *de Tallard*, was mortally wounded, and died a few Days after the Action.

THE leaſt Computation made of the Loſs of the *French*, which can be ſaid to be any Ways impartial, allow it to have been 30,000 Men, viz. 14,000 kill'd and wounded in the Field of Battle, and drown'd in the *Danube*; 13,000 Priſoners, and 3,000 deſerted, or otherwiſe loſt in the Action, and precipitate Retreat. The *Paris Gazetts*, indeed, have reduced them to a ſomething leſs Number; But I need not tell the Reader, that it is not to them we are to go in Search of Truth.

See Letter K. *below.* THE Priſoners of Note, beſides the Marſhal *de Tallard*, were very numerous, of which I ſhall give a Liſt below.

BESIDES the Priſoners, the *Confederates* got many other Enſigns of a Compleat Victory, as above

above 100 Pieces of Cannon, great and ſmall, 14 Mortars, 129 Colours, 171 Standards, 17 Pair of Kettle Drums, 3,600 Tents, 34 Coaches, 300 laden Mules, 2 Bridges of Boats, 15 Pontons, 24 Barrels, and 8 Casks of Silver. 1704. *Booty.*

THIS Succeſs coſt the Allies 4485 Men kill'd, 7525 Men wounded, and 273 loſt, or made Priſoners. A great Number in it ſelf, but an inconſiderable Price for the infinite Advantage which the *Allies* gained by their Victory. They loſt few Men of Note, except the Prince of *Holſtein Beck*, and Brigadier *Row*, who died of their Wounds after, and *Philip Dormer*, Lieutenant Colonel of the *Engliſh* Guards, Major *Frederick Cornwallis*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Dallyel*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Fetherſtonhaugh*, Major *Creed*, Colonel *John White*, Lord *Forbes*, Captain, Major *Chenevix*, who were killed in the Fight; The principal Perſons among their wounded were, the Lord *North and Gray*, who loſt his right Hand; the Lord *Mordaunt*, who had his left Arm ſhatter'd, Colonel *Hamilton*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Levingſton*, Lieutenant Colonel *Peyton*, Major *Granville*, Major *George Morgan*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Britton*, Major *Armſtrong*, and Major *Hetley*. *Loſs of the* Confederates. *See Letter I. below.*

HAVING thus given a particular Relation of this famous Battle, and Glorious Victory, fought and obtained under the chief Conduct and Management of the great Duke of *Marlborough*, to his immortal Honour, I ſhall, as well to corroborate many Circumſtances already mentioned, as to illuſtrate what has been ſaid above, by the Addition of ſeveral others, ſubjoin the Copies of the ſundry Letters, *&c.* referr'd to above, written by the chief Perſons, who had a Share in the Tranſactions of this Day,

1704. Day, with Anſwers to ſome of them, and ſuch other Pieces relating thereunto, as I have been able to procure, and which may contribute to give my Readers a Compleat Idea of this wonderful Action, and of every Circumſtance attending it.

B.

A LETTER *written by the Duke of* MARLBOROUGH, *on Horſeback, with a Leaden Pencil, to his Ducheſs.*

Aug. 13. 1704.

The D. of Marlb. Letter to his Ducheſs, written with a Pencil.

" I HAVE not Time to ſay more, than to beg of you to preſent my humble Duty to the Queen, and to let Her Majeſty know, " That Her Army has had a glorious Victory: " Monſieur *Tallard*, and two other Generals, " are in my Coach, and I am following the " Reſt: The Bearer, my *Aid de Camp*, Colonel *Pack*, will give her Majeſty an Account " of what has paſſed: I ſhall do it in a Day " or two, by another more at large.

Marlborough.

C.

A Letter from the Duke of MARLBOROUGH *to Mr. Secretary* Harley.

Camp at Hochſtadt; *Thurſday Morning*, Aug. 14. 1704.

SIR,

A Letter from the D. of Marlb. to Mr. Secr. Harley.

" I GAVE you an Account on *Sunday*, of " the Situation we were then in, and that " we expected to hear the Enemy would paſs " the *Danube*, at *Lawingen*, in Order to attack

" Prince

" Prince *Eugene*. At eleven, that Night, we 1704.
" had an Expreſs from him, That the Enemy
" were come over, and deſiring that he might
" be re-inforced as ſoon as poſſible; Where-
" upon, I ordered my Brother *Churchill* to ad-
" vance, at one o'Clock in the Morning, with
" his 20 Battalions, and, by three, the whole
" Army was in Motion. For the greater Ex-
" pedition, I ordered Part of the Troops to
" paſs over the *Danube*, and follow the March
" of the 20 Battalions, and, with moſt of the
" Horſe, and the Foot of the firſt Line, I
" paſſed the *Lech* at *Rain*, and came over the
" *Danube* at *Donawert*; So that we all join'd
" the Prince that Night, intending to advance,
" and take this Camp of *Hochſtadt*. In Order
" whereto, we went out, on *Tueſday*, early
" in the Morning, with 40 Squadrons, to view
" the Ground; But found the Enemy had al-
" ready poſſeſs'd themſelves of it: Whereupon,
" we reſolv'd to attack them, and, according-
" ly, we march'd between three and four,
" Yeſterday Morning, from the Camp at *Mun-*
" *ſter*, leaving all our Tents ſtanding; About
" ſix, we came in View of the Enemy, who,
" we found, did not expect ſo early a Viſit.
" The Cannon began to play about half an
" Hour after Eight: They formed themſelves
" in two Bodies; The Elector, with Monſieur
" *Marſin*, and their Troops, on our *Right*;
" And Monſieur *de Tallard*, with all his own,
" on our *Left*, which laſt fell to my Share.
" They had two little Rivulets, beſides a Mo-
" raſs, before them, which we were obliged to
" paſs over in their View, and Prince *Eugene*
" was forc'd to take a great Compaſs to come
" to the Enemy; So that it was one o'Clock,

" before

1704. " before the Battle begun. It laſted with " great Vigour till Sun-ſet, when the Enemy " were obliged to retire, and, by the Bleſſing " of GOD, we obtain'd a Compleat Victory: " We have cut off great Numbers of them, " as well in the Action, as in the Retreat; " Beſides upwards of 30 Squadrons of the " *French*, which I puſh'd into the *Danube*, " where we ſaw the greateſt Part of them periſh: " Monſieur *de Tallard*, with ſeveral of his Ge- " neral Officers, being taken Priſoners, at the " ſame Time: And, in the Village of *Blen-* " *heim*, which the Enemy had intrench'd and " fortify'd, and where they made the greateſt " Oppoſition, I oblig'd 26 entire Battalions, " and 12 Squadrons of Dragoons, to ſurrender " themſelves Priſoners at Diſcretion. We took " likewiſe all their Tents ſtanding, with their " Cannon and Ammunition, as alſo a great " Number of Standards, Kettle-Drums and " Colours, in the Action; So that I reckon " the greateſt Part of Monſieur *Tallard*'s Army " is taken or deſtroyed: The Bravery of all " our Troops, on this Occaſion, cannot be ex- " preſs'd, the Generals, as well as the Officers " and Soldiers, behaving themſelves with the " greateſt Courage and Reſolution; The Horſe " and Dragoons having been obliged to charge " four or five ſeveral Times. The *Elector* " and Monſieur *de Marſin* were ſo advanta- " geouſly poſted, that Prince *Eugene* could " make no Impreſſion on them 'till the third " Attack, at near ſeven at Night, when he " made a great Slaughter of them: But being " near a Wood-ſide, a good Body of *Bava-* " *rians* retired into it, and the Reſt of that " Army retreated towards *Lawingen*, it being

" too

" too late, and the Troops too much tired, to 1704.
" purſue them far. I cannot ſay too much in
" the Praiſe of the Prince's good Conduct, and
" the Bravery of his Troops on this Occaſion.
" You will pleaſe to lay this before Her Ma-
" jeſty, and his Royal Highneſs, to whom I
" ſend my Lord *Tunbridge* with the good News.
" I pray you will likewiſe inform yourſelf, and
" let me know Her Majeſty's Pleaſure, as well
" relating to Monſieur *Tallard*, and the other
" General Officers, as for the Diſpoſal of near
" 1200 other Officers, and between 8 or 9000
" common Soldiers, who being all made Pri-
" ſoners by Her Majeſty's Troops, are entirely
" at her Diſpoſal; But as the Charge of ſub-
" ſiſting theſe Officers and Men muſt be very
" great, I preſume Her Majeſty will be inclin'd,
" that they be exchang'd for any other Pri-
" ſoners that offer.

" I SHOULD likewiſe be glad to receive
" Her Majeſty's Directions, for the Diſpatch
" of the Standards and Colours, whereof I
" have not yet the Number, but gueſs there
" cannot be leſs than 100, which is more than
" has been taken in any Battle theſe many Years.

" You will eaſily believe, that in ſo long
" and vigorous an Action, the *Engliſh*, who
" had ſo great a Share in it, muſt have ſuf-
" fered, as well in Officers as Men, but I have
" not yet the Particulars. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient
Humble Servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

1704.

D.

The Duke of MARLBOROUGH's *Letter to the States of the* United Provinces.

HIGH *and* MIGHTY LORDS,

The Duke of Marlborough's Letter to the States General.

" I GAVE myſelf the Honour to write, on *Sunday* laſt, to Your *High Mightineſſes*, " to acquaint you with our Reſolution to be- " ſiege *Ingoldſtadt*, and with the Poſture of the " Enemy. The ſame Day, in the Evening, " we were informed, that the Enemy had paſ- " ſed the *Danube* at *Lawingen*; Whereupon " I order'd, about Midnight, General *Chur-* " *chill*, who had that Day paſs'd the *Danube*, " with twenty Battalions, to re-inforce Prince " *Eugene*, and at three o' Clock in the Morn- " ing, I march'd, with the Reſt of the Army; " and for greater Expedition, Part of the " Forces march'd the ſame Way as General " *Churchill* had done, and the Horſe, with " the firſt Line of the Infantry, paſs'd the " *Lech*, at *Rain*, and the *Danube*, at *Donawert*. " We joined Prince *Eugene*, the ſame Day, in " the Evening, and encamp'd the *Right* at " *Apertzhofen*, and the *Left* at *Munſter*, de- " ſigning to encamp, the next Day, in the " Camp at *Hochſtadt*; But when Prince *Eu-* " *gene* and I went to view the ſame, with " forty Squadrons, we found that the Enemy " had prevented us, and were poſted therein; " whereupon we reſolv'd to march againſt " them, as we did Yeſterday. The Army was " in Motion, at two in the Morning, which " the Enemy did not expect, and we came in

" Sight

" Sight about ſix, and began to cannonade be- 1704.
" tween eight and nine. As the Enemy had
" two Rivulets before them, and a Sort of a
" Moraſs, the Cavalry was obliged to file,
" and Prince *Eugene* forc'd to fetch a great
" Compaſs about; and it was full one of the
" Clock, in the Afternoon, before we could
" engage. The Enemy form'd two Bodies,
" the *Elector* and Monſieur *de Marſin* had the
" *Left*, and Monſieur *de Tallard* the *Right*,
" with all his Forces. It was my Lot to have
" to do with the latter. The Action grew
" very hot, and laſted 'till Sun-ſet, when it
" pleaſed GOD to bleſs the *Allies* with one of
" the greateſt and moſt compleat Victories
" that ever was. It is impoſſible to expreſs
" the Bravery of our Troops, and the Ge-
" nerals, Officers, and Soldiers deſerve all the
" Praiſes that can be given. The Horſe were
" obliged to renew the Charge four or five
" Times; but I have not Time now to en-
" ter into the Particulars. The whole Army
" of the Enemy was routed. We made a
" terrible Slaughter of them, and took their
" Camp, with their Cannon and Ammunition.
" On my Side, we drove above thirty Squa-
" drons into the *Danube*, where we ſaw them
" periſh, for the moſt Part. We have taken
" Monſieur *de Tallard*, with many of the Ge-
" neral Officers, Priſoners. The Enemy had
" fortify'd a Village called *Blenheim*, wherein
" I have taken twenty-ſix Battalions, and
" twelve Squadrons, all Priſoners at Diſcretion.
" We have beſides taken a great Number of
" Standards and Colours.

" I HAVE not yet a particular Account of
" what was done in the *Right*, but the good

1704. " Conduct of Prince *Eugene*, and the Bravery " of his Troops, have ſhone in a particular " Manner, on this glorious Day, upon which " I could not defer any longer to Congra- " tulate Your *High Mightineſſes*, referring to " Colonel *Panton*, one of my Adjutants Gene- " ral, who was in the Action, to give You " the further Particulars, by Word of Mouth. " I am, *&c.*

Sign'd,

From the Camp at Hochſtadt, Auguſt 14, 1704. *The Duke of* MARLBOROUGH.

This Letter, as well as the Subject of it, could not but be highly agreable to *Their High Mightineſſes*; and they were not backward in ſhewing the grateful Senſe they had of the Duke's Services, by a ſpeedy and polite Anſwer, in which they did him the Honour juſtly due to his extraordinary Merit.

See Letter F. below.

Extract of a Letter from G. Hompeſch, *to the* States General.

GENERAL *Hompeſch*, likewiſe, gave an Account of this Victory, in a Letter to the *States General*, which he concluded in theſe Words: " The Duke of *Marlborough* gave Orders with " great Prudence and Conduct, and expos'd " himſelf in the moſt dangerous Places, during " the whole Action, giving Directions, with " a Preſence of Mind, amidſt the hotteſt Fire. " Prince *Eugene*, on his Part, has done as " much as poſſible: And the Hereditary " Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel* was in the Midſt of " the Action, and has very much diſtinguiſh'd " himſelf, *&c.*

Another

1704.

E.

Another Letter from the Duke of Marlborough, *to the States of the* United Provinces.

HIGH *and* MIGHTY LORDS,

A ſecond Letter from the Duke to the States General.

" I GAVE myſelf the Honour to write to Your *High Mightineſſes*, on *Thurſday* laſt, " by Colonel *Panton*, one of my Adjutants-" General, to impart to You the happy Suc-" ceſs of the Arms of the *Allies* in *Germany*, " and the glorious Victory which we have " obtained over the Enemy, of which we feel " every Day the good Influence. The Num-" ber of Priſoners encreaſe hourly, and we " reckon to have now about 11,000, beſides " about 1200 Officers. I muſt confeſs, that " great Number is very troubleſome to us, " there being few Places in this Country to " put them in. This obliges me to deſire " Your *High Mightineſſes*, to do me the Ho-" nour to let me know whether we may ſend " down by Water, the Share of the Priſon-" ers belonging to *England* and Your *High* " *Mightineſſes*, that they may be diſpoſed of " in the Places of the *United Provinces*. Mean " Time, we ſhall endeavour to eaſe ourſelves " of them in this Country, as ſoon as poſſi-" ble, for nothing elſe ſtops us here.

" As the Face of Affairs, in this Country, " is wholly chang'd at preſent; Prince *Eu-" gene* and I have imparted to Prince *Lewis* " of *Baden* our Sentiments, that to amuſe " ourſelves at the Siege of *Ingoldſtadt*, at pre-" ſent, will be but loſing of Time, and that

1704. " we believe it will be more advantageous for the " Good of the common Cauſe, to join all our " Forces, to ſtreighten more and more the Ene- " my, and oblige the *French* to quit *Germany*, " and repaſs the *Rhine*; For then, not only *In-* " *goldſtadt*, but alſo the whole Country of *Ba-* " *varia*, muſt fall of themſelves. We have an " Inſtance of it in the Caſe of the City of " *Augsburg*, which the Enemy quitted Yeſter- " day Morning. Their Deputies are come " hither to deſire our Protection, and a De- " tachment is marching thither to take Poſſeſ- " ſion thereof. We hourly expect an An- " ſwer from the Prince of *Baden* on this " Subject.

" THIS Day, we have return'd Thanks to " GOD, thro' the whole Army, for his Fa- " vour to us, which appears the more con- " ſpicuous, in that the Enemy own, that " their Army conſiſted of 82 Battalions and " 147 Squadrons, which were advantageouſly " poſted; whereas we had but 64 Battalions " and 166 Squadrons, of which Number, " 1500 Horſe, were detach'd with the Prince " of *Baden*. This Evening, we are to make " publick Rejoycings, by a general Diſcharge " of all our Artillery and ſmall Shot, through- " out the Army.

" I HAVE nothing farther to add, but I " cannot conclude, without repeating to Your " *High Mightineſſes*, that the Valour and good " Conduct of the Baron *de Hompeſch*, and your " other Generals, and alſo the Bravery which " the Officers and Soldiers of your Troops " have expreſs'd, on this Occaſion, deſerve the " greateſt Encomiums: I therefore flatter my " ſelf, that in filling up the Vacancies, Your

High

" *High Mightineſſes* will have a particular " Regard for ſuch who have been in the Acti- " on, and for the Recommendation of their " Generals, who were Eye-witneſſes of their " Behaviour. I am, *&c.* 1704.

From the Camp at Steinheim, *Auguſt* 17. 1704.

Sign'd,

The Duke of Marlborough.

GENERAL *Hompeſch* wrote another Letter of the ſame Date, to the *States General*, in which, among others, he has the following Expreſſions, in Honour to our great Commander. *Extract of another Letter from General* Hompeſch.

" Tho' I have already commended the Va- " lour and Prudence of the Duke of *Marlbo-* " *rough*, I muſt again repeat, that no one " can ſufficiently praiſe him, for the Zeal and " Vigilance he ſhew'd in this Action. The " ſame may be ſaid of Prince *Eugene*: And " after the Example of theſe two Generals " (who are remarkable for their Goodneſs and " Conduct) our whole Army is in a perfect " Harmony.

THE *States General* of the *United Provinces*, who have generally ſhewed themſelves good Judges of Merit, wrote the following Letter to the Duke of *Marlborough*, which is a very illuſtrious Teſtimony of the Obligations the *Allies* acknowledged to be due to him.

1704.

F.

Their High Mightineſſes Letter to the Lord Duke of Marlborough, *in Anſwer to that of his Grace, which was brought to them by Colonel* Panton.

A Letter from the States General *to the D. of* Marlb.

" COLONEL *Panton* has brought to us your " Excellency's welcome Letter, dated " from the Camp, at *Hochſtadt*, the 14th In- " ſtant, and has related to us what paſſed in " the memorable Battle fought the Day be- " fore.

" WE return your Excellency moſt hearty " Thanks, for the ſpeedy Notice you were " pleaſed to ſend us of ſo agreable News. " After the firſt Blow you gave them at *Schel-* " *lenberg*, we had reaſon to expect ſomewhat " much greater would follow; But never durſt " have carried our Hopes ſo far, as to think " of ſo glorious and compleat a Victory, as " you have, with the Army of the *Allies*, " gained over the Enemy.

" THE Action of that Day has placed the " Greatneſs of your Merit in it's true Luſtre: " A Day, whoſe Glory might have been en- " vied by the greateſt Captains of paſt Ages, " and whoſe Memory will endure thro' all " Ages to come.

" WE heartily congratulate your Excellency " upon this Occaſion, and rejoyce for the Glo- " ry you have acquired, as well as for the Ad- " vantage the Common Cauſe has obtained " thereby. This Action will let *France* ſee, " that her Troops are not invincible, and will " prove ſuch a Blow, as that King never felt,

" in

" in the whole Courſe of his Reign: And, 1704.
" therefore, we give Thanks to GOD, whoſe
" Goodneſs has bleſſed your Brave Attempt, and
" pray that he will proſper more and more your
" Generous Deſigns: Aſſuring you, that none
" can be with greater Eſteem, and more Since-
" rity, than we are, *&c.*"

Extract of a Letter from the States General *to the Queen.*

IN a Letter, which the *States-General* wrote to the Queen, on this Occaſion, they acknowledge, that it was the Bravery of the *Engliſh* Forces that principally contributed to the Victory, and that *the whole was done under the Prudent and Valiant Conduct of the Duke of* Marlborough, *who in this Battle, reaped Laurels, that never will fade.*

G.

The Marſhal de Marſin's *Letter to the King of* France, *concerning the Battle of* Hochſtadt.

A Letter from the Marſhal de Marſin *to the* French *King.*

" ON the 10th, in the Morning, we had
" Advice, that Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*,
" with 24 Battalions, and 31 Squadrons, was
" detach'd from the Enemy's Camp, to beſiege
" *Ingoldſtadt*, upon which we reſolv'd to march
" to *Lawingen*: And the Poſt of *Hochſtadt*
" being found moſt advantageous, the *Elector*
" encamped his Army there. On the twelfth,
" we called a Council of War, to conſider
" whether we ſhould ſtay for the Enemy, who
" was marching towards us, and reſolv'd we
" ſhould. On the 13th, in the Morning, the
" Armies came in Sight of one another. The
" Marſhal *de Tallard*, and his Troops, had the
" *Right*, and the *Elector* and I were on the
" *Left*. Prince *Eugene* was on the Enemy's
Right,

1704. " *Right*, and the Duke of *Marlborough* on their
" *Left*; The Enemy ſpent the whole Morn-
" ing in Movements, to draw themſelves up
" with Advantage; And, at Nine o'Clock,
" the Cannon began to play on both Sides.
" About one of the Clock, the Battle grew
" hot; The *Elector* broke the Enemy's *Right*
" ſeveral Times; But they immediately ral-
" lied again. Their Foot ſtood bravely to it,
" being ſupported by their Horſe. Our *Right*
" did likewiſe make ſeveral advantageous Char-
" ges, upon their *Left*; But about ſix, at
" Night, the Enemy paſs'd a Moraſs, which
" our Engineers thought impaſſable, and at-
" tack'd our *Right* on the Flank, and broke
" the ſame. Twenty-ſix Battalions and four
" Regiments of Dragoons threw themſelves
" into the Village of *Blenheim*, where they
" were encompaſſed by the Enemy, and ob-
" lig'd to ſurrender.

" WHEN the *Elector* ſaw this unhappy Re-
" ſult, we reſolv'd to retire, with the *Left*, and
" the Body of the Battle, to *Ulm*; Some of
" the Cavalry of the *Right* join'd us; But ſe-
" veral Squadrons not being able to come up
" with the Body, threw themſelves into the
" *Danube*, where the Marſhal *de Tallard* wa
" taken. We arrived yeſternight at *Ulm*, wit
" 31 Battalions, and 62 Squadrons, without
" being purſued, and have ſaved 18 Cannon,
" with Part of the Baggage. Of Your Ma-
" jeſty's, and the *Bavarian* Troops, there are
" 10,000 kill'd, beſides what are taken; But
" we have very many wounded; Abundance
" of Officers and Soldiers, who have eſcaped
" from the Enemy, join us continually. I ſhall
" ſpeedily ſend Your Majeſty an Account of
" the

" the State of our Army, after the Battle, 1704.
" that it may be compar'd with that ſent by
" the *Elector* five Days ago.

H.

The Duke of Marlborough's *Letter to the* States General.

From the Camp at Sefelingen.

HIGH *and* MIGHTY LORDS,

" I GAVE my ſelf the Honour to write to *A Letter*
" Your *High Mightineſſes*, on *Sunday* laſt, *from the Duke*
" from *Steynheim*. The next Day the Mar- *of* Marlb. *to*
" ſhal *de Tallard*, with the other Officers *the* States Ge-
" of Note, were ſent towards *Franckfort* and neral.
" *Hanau*, under a Guard of Dragoons: We
" have made the Repartition of the other Pri-
" ſoners, who are ſent into the neighbouring
" Places, that they may be more eaſily guard-
" ed, 'till they are ſent away. Their Num-
" ber is greater than was at firſt believ'd, ſince
" they exceed 13,000 Officers and Soldiers,
" including about 3000 which have liſted them-
" ſelves in the *Confederate* Troops. On *Tueſ-*
" *day*, the Army decamp'd, and march'd to
" *Gondelfingen*. Yeſterday we advanced to *Ober*
" *Elchingen*, and, this Day, to this Camp,
" which is about half a League from *Ulm*. We
" have found a great Number of Officers bu-
" ried in the Villages thro' which we march'd,
" and ſome Citizens of *Ulm* aſſure us, that
" when the Enemy march'd from thence, they
" carried away above 7,000 wounded, amongſt
" whom were about 1,000 Officers. They
" burnt

1704. " burnt a great many Waggons, to make uſe " of the Horſes to carry off the Officers upon " *Brancars* (a Sort of Litters.) Our *Huſſars*, " and ſeveral Parties of Horſe, follow them " very cloſely, who, together with the *Boors*, " have kill'd a great Number of the Soldiers " of the Enemy, whom they found ſtraggling. " We begin to ſtreighten *Ulm*, expecting the " Arrival of the Prince of *Baden*, who paſſed " the *Danube*, this Day, at *Donawert*, and as " ſoon as he is come, and that we have regu- " lated what Troops are to carry on this Siege, " I ſhall advance towards the *Rhine*, with the " Forces that I have the Honour to Command. " This Morning, a Deputy of the City of " *Memmingen* came to our Camp, to deſire our " Protection; and reports, That the *Electreſs* " of *Bavaria* was gone thro' that Place, with " 5 of her Children, under a Guard of 14 " Squadrons, to join the *Elector*, who, ac- " cording to our laſt Advices, was about *Dut-* " *lingen*, with the Marſhal *de Marſin*. I am, " *&c.*

Signed,

The Duke of Marlborough.

I.

A Liſt of the Engliſh *Officers kill'd or wounded, in the Battle of* Blenheim.

FOOT.

A Liſt of the Engliſh *Officers kill'd or wounded at* Blenheim.

OF the Battalion of Guards. Col. *Philip Dormer*, kill'd. Lord *Mordaunt*, Capt. *Ja. Dormer*, Capt. *Pocock*, Enſ. *Reeves*, Enſ. *Campion*, wounded.

OF the Lord *Orkney*'s two Battalions. Col. *White*, Enſ. *Mac Conway*, Enſ. *Craig*, kill'd. Capt. *Ja. Cunningham*, Lord *Forbes*, Capt. *Montgomery*, Capt. *Bruce*, Capt. *Lindſey*, Lieut. *Harroway*, Lieut. *Liſle*, Enſ. *Hume*, wounded. 1704.

OF General *Curchill*'s Regiment. Lieut. *Scrimſour*, Lieut. *Palfrey*, kill'd. Lieut. Col. *Peyton*, Major *Hetley*, Capt. *Meols*, Capt. *Luke*, Capt. *Slaughter*, Enſ. *Montgomery*, Enſ. *Bolton*, Enſ. *Campion*, Enſ. *Smith*, wounded.

OF Brigadier *Webb*'s Regiment. Capt. *Leon Lloyd*, Lieut. *Beiſer*, wounded.

OF the Lord *North* and *Gray*'s Regiment. Capt. *Daws*, Sir *J. Sandes*, Capt. *Cavendiſh*, Capt. *Burton*, Lieut. *Freer*, Lieut. *Weeks*, Enſ. *Breames*, Enſ. *Dawſon*, kill'd. Lord *North* and *Gray*, Major *Glanville*, Capt. *Cunningham*, Capt. *Spotſwood*, Lieut. *Buller*, Lieut. *Boylblanc*, Lieut. *Hornby*, Enſ. *Croy*, Enſ. *Roſſington*, wounded.

OF Brigadier *How*'s Regiment. Major *Cornwallis*, Capt. *Tankard*, Lieut. *Kerr*, Lieut. *Simmons*, Enſ. *Jackſon*, kill'd. Lieut. Col. *Bretton*, Major *Armſtrong*, Capt. *Villebonne*, Capt. *Gaſton*, Lieut. *Baſon*, Lieut. *Dickenſon*, Lieut. *Harriſon*, Enſ. *Leſly*, Enſ. *Hargrave*, Enſ. *Edwards*, Enſ. *Dean*, Enſ. *Patrick*, Enſ. *Dawſon*, wounded.

OF the Earl of *Derby*'s Regiment. Capt. *Coghlan*, Lieut. *Brown*, Enſ. *Sabin*, Enſ. *Hesketh*, kill'd. Col. *Hamilton*, Capt. *Hesketh*, Capt. *Flemming*, Capt. *Lee*, Capt. *Horne*, Lieut. *Vicarige*, Lieut. *Jackſon*, Lieut. *Ayloff*, Lieut. *Reddiſh*, Enſ. *Gordon*, Enſ. *Machrich*, Enſ. *Hook*, wounded.

OF

1704. Of Brigadier *Hamilton*'s Regiment. Capt. *Browne*, Capt. *Rolliſton*, Enſ. *Moyle*, kill'd. Major *Cane*, Capt. *Pennetire*, Capt. *Huſſey*, Capt. *Vauclin*, Lieut. *Smith*, Lieut. *Roberts*, Lieut. *Weddle*, Lieut. *Blackney*, Lieut. *Harvey*, Enſ. *Trip*, wounded.

Of Brigadier *Row*'s Regiment. Col. *Dalyel*, Capt. *Stretton*, Sen. Capt. *Stretton*, Jun. Lieut. *Vandergracht*, Lieut. *Will. Cambell*, Lieut. *Travallion*, kill'd. Brigadier *Row*, Major *Campbell*, Capt. *Crawford*, Capt. *Fairlee*, Lieut. *Dunbar*, Lieut. *Ja. Douglas*, Lieut. *Elliot*, Lieut. *Ogilvy*, Lieut. *Maxwell*, Lieut. *Stuart*, Lieut. *Primroſe*, Lieut. *Gordon*, wounded.

Of Brigadier *Fergusson*'s Regiment. Capt. *Campbell*, Lieut. *Arch. Douglas*, Lieut. *Seaton*, Lieut. *Moncriff*, Enſ. *Hay*, kill'd. Lieut. Col. *Levingſton*, Capt. *Smart*, Capt. *Blackader*, Capt. *Borthwick*, Capt. *Wilſon*, Lieut. *Fergusson*, Enſ. *Bernard*, Enſ. *Maclean*, Enſ. *Ogilvy*, Enſ. *Row*, Enſ. *Dalrimple*, Enſ. *Olephant*, Enſ. *Marſhal*, Quarter-Maſter *Stephenſon*, wounded.

Of Lieutenant-General *Ingoldſby*'s Regiment. Major *Geo. Morgan*, Capt. *Hen. Cookman*, Lieut. *Hugh Smith*, Lieut. *Griffith Jones*, Lieut. *Bailey*, Lieut. *Fleetwood Dormer*, Lieut. *Rowland*, Lieut. *John Paterſon*, Adjutant *Powel*, wounded.

Of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Regiment. Capt. *Fitz Simmons*, Capt. *Bailey*, Lieut. *Parrot*, kill'd. Capt. *Tichburn*, Capt. *Pollixfen*, Capt. *Gardiner*, Capt. *La Coude*, Lieut. *Finch*, Lieut. *Alboreton*, Lieut. *Whitehall*, Enſ. *Turner*, Enſ. *Douglas*, wounded.

Of Col. *Meredith*'s Regiment. Lieut. *Cairnes*, Lieut. *Edmonds*, Lieut. *Biron*, wounded.

THE Dragoons ſuffer'd ſo little, that only the Adjutant of *Roſs*'s Regiment was much wounded. 1704.

HORSE.

OF Lieutenant-General *Lumley*'s Regiment. Lieut. *Barton*, Adjutant *Kingſton*, wounded.

OF Lieutenant-General *Wood*'s Regiment: Lieut. Col. *Featherſtonehagh*, Cornet *Odiarn*, kill'd. Capt. *Armſtrong*, Capt. *Shute*, Lieut. *Dove*, Cornet *Forreſter*, Cornet *Stevenſon*, wounded.

OF Lieutenant-General *Windham*'s Regiment. Major *Chenevix*, Lieut. *Payne*, Cornet *Thompſon*, Cornet *Sanders*, Quarter-Maſter *Crocker*, kill'd. Capt. *Windham*, Lieut. *Hall*, Cornet *Ward*, Cornet *Nevil*, Lieut. *Edmonds*, wounded.

OF the Duke of *Schomberg*'s Regiment. Major *Creed*, Lieut. *Hawker*, Quarter-Maſter *Charleton*, kill'd. Capt. *Prime*, Cornet *Creuſeau*, Lieut. *Palmes*, wounded.

OF Col. *Cadogan*'s Regiment. Lieut. *Grebeir*, kill'd.

THE following Officers died afterwards of their Wounds, *viz.* Brigadier *Row*, Lord *Forbes*, Capt. in the Royal Regiment of Foot; Capt. *Luke*, of General *Churchill*'s Regiment; Capt *Vauclin* of Brigadier *Hamilton*'s Regiment, and Capt. *Gardiner* of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Regiment.

Note. THE Regiments named in this Liſt, with the Lord *John Hays*'s, and Major-General *Roſs*'s Regiment of Dragoons, are all the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Forces that march'd with the Duke of *Marlborough*, into *Germany*.

1704.

K.

A LIST *of the Priſoners of Note, taken at the Battle of* Blenheim.

A Liſt of the Priſoners of Note taken in this Battle.

THE Marſhal *de Tallard*; Marquis *de Montperoux*, *Maître de Camp*, General of Horſe; Monſ. *de Hautefeuille*, *Maître de Camp*, General of Dragoons; Marquis *de Marivaux*, Lieutenant-General; Marquis *de Blanſac*, Marſhal *de Camp* of Foot; Monſ. *de Valſeme*, Marſhal *de Camp*; Marquis *de la Valiere*, Marquis *de Silly*, Brigadiers-General of Horſe; Monſ. *Deſnonville*, Monſ. *d'Amigay*, Chevalier *de Croiſſi*, Monſ. *de St. Second*, Monſ. *de Signey*, Monſ. *de Montfort*, Brigadiers-General of Foot; Monſ. *Jolly*, Brigadier-General of Dragoons; Marquis *de Seppeville*, Monſ. *de la Maſſiliere*, Brigadiers-General of the *Gens d'Armes*; Marquis *de Saſſenage*, *Aid de Camp*, and Son in Law to the Marſhal *de Tallard*; Marquis *de St. Pouange*, the *Chevalier de Ligonday*, Colonels of Horſe; Marquis *de Nonan*, Colonel of the Regiment of *Provence*, Count *de Tavannes*, Count *de Schack*, Monſ. *Bliancourt*, Monſ. *Sauboeuf*, Count *de Lionne*, Marquis *de Laſſy*, Baron *d'Elſen*, Colonels of Foot; Marquis *de Vaſſy*, Marquis *d'Arrival*, Colonels of Dragoons; Prince *Maubecq* of *Lorrain*, Capt. of Horſe; Marquis *d'Auvet*, Captain of the *Gens d'Armes*; Monſ. *de Caraman*, Second Lieutenant of the *Gens d'Armes*, and Colonel; Monſ. *d'Ovillars*, Enſign of the *Gens d'Armes*; Monſ. *Tuiſſac*, *Guidon* of the *Gens d'Armes*: And the Sieurs *de Breuil*, and *la Morcelaire*, Commiſſaries of the Artillery.

L.

1704.

L.

A LIST *of the* French *Troops made Priſoners at Diſcretion, in the Village of* Blenheim, *the* 13*th of* Auguſt, 1704.

A Liſt of the French *Troops taken in the Village of* Blenheim.

FOUR Regiments of Dragoons, *viz.* that of the *Maître de Camp*-General, *La Reine*, *Vaſſy* and *Rouan*, conſiſting of three Squadrons each. Seventeen Regiments of Foot, *viz. Navarre* three Battalions, *Senneterre* two, *Creder German* two, *Aunis* two, *Artois* two, *Provence* one, *Languedoc* two, *Blaiſois* one, *Argentois* one, *Surlaube* two, *St. Second* one, *Laſſy* one, *Boulonnois* one, *Mourroux* one, *Montfort* two, *Royal* three, of the *Artillery* one; In all 28 Battalions. The Duke of *Marlborough*, however, in his Letters to Mr. Secretary *Harley*, and to the *States General*, mentions but 26 Battalions: As does, likewiſe, one of the *French* Generals, in his Letter to Monſ. *de Chamillard*. General *Hompeſch*, in a ſecond Letter to the *States General*, calls them 27 Battalions, as do, likewiſe, ſome other Accounts: But they all agree, that they were at leaſt 26.

See Letters C. *and* D. *below.*

See Letter Q. *below.*

M.

The Emperour's *Letter to the Duke of* Marlborough, *upon his Grace's Victory at* Hochſtadt.

The Emperour's Letter to the Duke of Marlborough.

" ILLUSTRISSIME Conſanguinee & Princeps " chariſſime, Lubenter admodum his Di- " lectionem veſtram compello nominibus, quam " non tam propter antiquiſſimam præclaræ

1704. " Familæ ſuæ Nobilitatem, quam ob propria
" decora & inſignia in Me, Domumque meam
" auguſtam & Sacrum *Romanum Imperium* me-
" rita, inter *Romani Imperii* Principes ſponte
" mea cooptandam duxi. Extare nimirum
" volui etiam hoc maximi in *Germania* Hono-
" ris à me in Vos merito collati publicum Mo-
" numentum, quo magis omnibus pateat, quan-
" tum cum Sereniſſimæ *Magnæ Britanniæ* Re-
" ginæ, quod Rebus meis, & *Imperii* ob per-
" fidam *Bavari* ad *Gallum* defectionem non
" leviter concuſſis, eximias ſuppetias in *Vindeli-*
" *ciam* & *Bavariam* uſque ſub ductu veſtro mi-
" ſerit, tum Dilectioni veſtræ Me & *Imperium*
" debere ultro agnoſcam, quod tam prudenter,
" tam fortiter, tam proſperè res geſtæ ſint;
" cum non Fama ſola, ſed meæ quoque Militiæ
" Supremi, Laborum veſtorum & Victoriarum
" Socii & Participes, eas veſtris imprimis Con-
" ſiliis & Virtuti *Anglicarumque*, & Aliarum
" Copiarum, ſub directione veſtra militantium
" Fortitudini, acceptas referant. Tantæ vero
" hæ ſunt, præſertim *Hochſtetdenſis*, cui parem
" de *Gallis* reportatam Secula non noverunt,
" retrò ut non modo Hoſtium pernicioſiſſimos
" conatus repulſos, & Vacillantis non nihil
" *Germaniæ*, ſeu verius univerſæ *Europæ*, Re
" rurſus firmatas eſſe gratulari poſſimus, ſe
" etiam porro ſperare liceat, plenam mox &
" integram *Chriſtiani* Orbis Libertatem, con-
" tra *Gallicam* Potentiam ejus Cervicibus im-
" minentem, feliciter aſſertum iri. Quod cùm
" Dilectionem veſtram ſtudia & operam ſuam
" omnem ſine ceſſatione impenſuram certus
" abunde ſim, id mihi ſolum ſupereſt, ut for-
" tunatos ſucceſſus apprecer, Vobiſque uberio-
" ra gratiſſimi animi documenta quavis oc-
" caſione

" caſione promptiſſimè exhibenda denuò polli- 1704.
" ceſſr.

Dabantur in Urbe mea Viennæ, 28 Auguſti, 1704.

A literal Tranſlation of this Letter.

" MOST ILLUSTRIOUS COUSIN, and moſt *A Tranſla-*
" dear Prince, I do gladly call by theſe *tion of that*
" Names your Grace (*or rather* DILECTION, *Letter.*
" *a Stile by which the Princes of the Empire go*)
" whom I have freely, and of my own Ac-
" cord, admitted among the Princes of the
" *Holy Roman Empire*, not ſo much in Conſi-
" deration of your noble Family, as upon Ac-
" count of your Perſonal Merit, and your
" great Deſerts towards me, my *Auguſt* Houſe,
" and the *Holy Roman Empire*. I have been
" willing that this Publick Monument of the
" ſupream Honour in *Germany*, which I have
" ſo deſervedly conferr'd upon you, ſhould re-
" main, that it may more and more appear
" to all the World, how much, as I freely
" own it, I, and all the *Empire*, owe to the
" moſt Serene Queen of *Great Britain*, for
" having ſent her powerful Aſſiſtance as far as
" *Augsburg* and *Bavaria* itſelf, under your Con-
" duct, when my own Affairs, and thoſe of
" the *Empire*, were ſo much ſhaken and diſor-
" der'd, by the perfidious Defection of the
" *Bavarians* to the *French*; And to your
" Grace, upon Account that Things have
" been ſo prudently, ſo vigorouſly, and ſuc-
" ceſsfully tranſacted: For not only Fame,
" but likewiſe the Generals of my Forces, the
" Companions and Sharers of your Labours
" and Victories, attribute the ſame chiefly to
" your Counſels, and the Valour and Bravery

1704. " of the *Engliſh*, and other Forces, who fought
" under your Conduct. Theſe Actions are ſo
" great, and particularly that of *Hochſtadt*,
" paſt Ages having never ſeen the like Victory
" obtain'd over the *French*, that we may re-
" joice to ſee, not only the moſt pernicious
" Efforts of the Enemy repuls'd, and the Af-
" fairs of *Germany*, which were ſomewhat
" tottering, or rather thoſe of all *Europe*,
" ſecured and ſettled again; But, likewiſe,
" that it may be reaſonably hoped, that the
" full and perfect Liberty of the *Chriſtian*
" World ſhall be reſcued from the Power of
" *France*, which was ſo imminently impending
" over it. Being entirely perſuaded and ſure,
" that your Grace will, without Intermiſſion,
" apply all your Care and Induſtry towards that
" End, there remains nothing elſe for me, but
" to wiſh you a proſperous Succeſs, and that
" I aſſure you of farther Marks of my Grati-
" tude, upon all Occaſions, which I ſhall be
" ready to expreſs.

Given in my City of Vienna, Auguſt 28. 1704.

N.

The Marſhal de Villars *Letter to the Abbot of St. Pierre.*

A remarkable Letter from the Marſhal de Villars to the Abbot of St. Pierre.

" I UNDERSTAND, by your laſt Letters, that
" ſome People, out of Compaſſion for un-
" fortunate Men, excuſe, that ſeven and twen-
" ty Battalions, and four Regiments of Dra-
" goons, ſhould chooſe to ſurrender Priſoners
" of War, while our *Left* Wing remained al-
" moſt entire. Theſe Sentiments are very
" little like thoſe of the ancient *Romans*, who,

after

" after the Battle of *Cannæ*, when *Hannibal* 1704.
" was at their Gates, were ſo far from excu-
" ſing their Priſoners, that they would not
" ſuffer their Soldiers, who had made their
" Eſcape out of that Fight to come into their
" City. *Curio*, *Cæſar*'s Lieutenant, thought
" very differently from theſe Gentlemen; He
" would not retire with his Cavalry: *How*
" *could I appear (ſaid he) before* Cæſar, *after*
" *having loſt his Legions?* What could they do
" better (*ſay ſome ſilly People*) than to ſave to
" the King a great Number of Troops and
" Officers? 'Tis upon ſuch Occaſions as this,
" that one muſt anſwer with old *Horatius*, Fa-
" ther to the three Champions of the *Romans*,
" in our *Corneille*, when he heard his Son was
" run away.

——————————*Qu'il mourut,*
Ou qu'un beau Deſeſpoir alors le ſecourut!

(Had he died on the Spot, or been relieved by a noble Deſpair)

" THUS the *Spaniſh* Infantry, at *Rocroy*,
" commanded by the old Count *de Fontaines*,
" choſe rather to periſh than to beg Quarter.
" Ought not the Soldiers and Officers, ſeeking
" to fight their Way, with the Bayonet at the
" Muzzle of their Guns, to have prefer'd a
" glorious Death, to the Ignominy of Periſhing
" with Hunger and Miſery in their Priſons?
" I bluſh for our Nation, when I reflect on
" ſo baſe a Surrender, and I ſee, with a Grief
" beyond Expreſſion, how ſhort we come of
" the ancient *Romans*, and even of *French*
" whom I have known.

Sign'd,

The Marſhal DE VILLARS.

1704.

O.

A Liſt of the Partition of the Officers, Soldiers, Horſe, and Dragoons, taken by the Allies, *at the Battle of* Hochſtadt.

Prince EUGENE's *Share.*

		Bat.	Capt.	Lieut.	S. Lt.	Serg.	Sold.
Pr. Eugene's *Share of the Priſoners.*	*Navarre*	3	32	34	37	40	1029
	Santen	2	20	16	18	33	570
	Greder	2	29	33	0	28	236
	Aunix	2	17	15	10	36	441
	Surlaube	2	24	34	8	38	360
	Monro	1	8	8	6	20	297
	Agenois	1	62	10	11	21	240
	Laſſy	1	11	7	3	18	200
	Blaſſon	1	6	6	8	19	292
		15	153	163	91	253	3665
	Cannoniers	—		—		—	88
	2 Commiſſ. of Artill.		2	—		—	23
	Cavalry	—		—		—	155
	Dragoons.	Squ.	Offic.				
	Maiſt. de Camp.	3	38		—		300
	Vaſſe	3	38	—		—	289
							4520

The Reſt of the Regiments.

Roy. Artill.	1	—		—		110
Nice	1		—		—	146
	231	163	91	253		4776

Captains

		1704.
Captains — — —	231	
Lieutenants — — —	163	
Under-Lieutenants — —	91	
Sergeants — —	253	
Soldiers, Horſe, and Dragoons	4776	
TOTAL of Prince EUGENE's Share	5514	

P.

The Duke of MARLBOROUGH's Share.

The Duke of Marlborough's *Share of the Priſoners.*

	Bat.	Capt.	Lieut.	S.Lt.	Serg.	Sold.
Royal	3	32	29	22	42	980
Provence	1	6	5	3	19	316
Bolonnois	1	10	9	10	20	308
St. Second	1	11	13	0	18	213
Languedoc	2	16	20	15	32	586
Artois	2	20	20	16	33	660
Rebec	1	1	6	2	16	175
Chabrillant	1	4	0	0	17	70
Montfort	2	15	17	15	29	419
	14	115	119	83	226	3727

Officers wounded.

At *Dillingen*	0	60	0	0	0	0
Cavalry	0	35	0	0	0	145
Dragoons.	Squ.					
La Reine	3	50	0	0	0	281
Rohan	3	40	0	0	0	290

The Reſt of the Regiments.

Albaret	1	0	0	0	0	148
Bandeville	1	0	0	0	0	120
Luxeroys	1	0	0	0	0	239
		300	119	83	226	4950

1704.

Captains, — — —	300
Lieutenants — — —	119
Sub-Lieutenants — —	83
Sergeants — — —	226
Soldiers, Cavalry, and Dragoons —	4950
	5678

TOTAL *of the Duke of* MARLBOROUGH'S *Share*, 5678. *In the whole*, 11,192, *beſides* 3000, *who had taken Service among the* Allies.

Q.

A Letter from a French *General to Monſ.* de Chamillard, *Miniſter of State, in* France. Straſburg, Aug. 30, 1704. N. S.

SIR,

A Letter from a French *General, to Monſ.* de Chamillard.

" THE Army march'd, the twelfth, from *Dillingen* and *Lawingen*, to go and " encamp at *Blenheim*, along a Rivulet, that " edged the Front of our Camp, which was " ſaid to be mooriſh, but was not ſo; Our " *Right* reaching to the *Danube*, and our *Left* " to a Hill, covered by a thin Wood. The *Elector* having preſs'd to march forward, upon a Belief that the Enemy were not joined, " Monſ. *de Tallard* conſented to it, and relied " upon People who had ſerved a Year and " a half in that Country, to poſt himſelf as " I told you. The Camp was hardly mark" ing, when Information was brought to the " Marſhal, that the Enemy appeared on the

" other

" other Side of the Rivulet, that bordered the 1704.
" Front of our Camp. He went that Way
" immediately, and having cauſed ſome Troops
" to go over, the Enemy retir'd to their
" Camp.

" SEVERAL People preſs'd the *Elector* to
" march up to them, aſſuring him, that they
" were not joined. The Marſhal diſſuaded
" him from it; repreſenting to him, that,
" before they advanced, they ought to be tho-
" roughly informed. In Order to that, a great
" Detachment was made to approach them
" nearer; and we made ſome Priſoners, who
" aſſured us, that they were joined; where-
" upon we returned back, and had no other
" Thoughts but to encamp. About five
" o' Clock, in the Morning, the Enemy
" march'd in their Turn to view us, with the
" great *Piquet*, with whom they advanced as
" far as *Schweiningen*, and then retir'd.

" THE next Day, at two in the Morning,
" the Enemy beat the *General*, and march'd,
" in Order to attack us. At ſix, in the
" Morning, we were ſtill ignorant of their
" Deſign; but ſeing them advance towards
" us, in four great Columns, we began to be-
" lieve they had a Mind to fight us. We
" beat the *General*, in our Camp, and ſoon
" after, ſounded to Horſe: And, in that In-
" terval, the Reſolution was taken, how to poſt
" our ſelves. To make you comprehend it,
" without a *Plan*, and at this Diſtance, I muſt
" reſume the Situation of our Camp. Our
" *Right* reached to the *Danube*, having the
" Village of *Blenheim*, in our Front, where
" was Monſ. *de Tallard*'s Quarters; and the
" Village of *Lutzingen* to the *Left* of our
" Camp,

1704. " Camp, where was the *Elector*'s Quarters.
" All the firſt Line of Foot, of Monſ. *de*
" *Tallard*, had its Right to the *Danube*, that
" it might be at Hand, to be poſted in the
" Village of *Blenheim*, which was before it.
" That firſt Line conſiſted of nineteen Batta-
" lions, on the *Left* of which we had poſted
" all our firſt Line of Horſe, ſo that they
" joined the Horſe of Monſ. *de Marſin*. Next
" to this was the Reſt of his Army, which
" reach'd as far as the Hill, and of which I ſhall
" not give you the Particulars, becauſe I was
" not there, having had Employment enough
" in our *Right*.

" THE ſecond Line was drawn up as uſual,
" that is to ſay, the Infantry in the *Center* ;
" the two Armies having Communication one
" with another, and making together eighty
" Battalions, and 140 Squadrons. In the *Center*
" of both Armies, there was a Hill, which
" commanded all the *Plain*, and whoſe gentle
" Declivity reach'd as far as the Rivulet, that
" run along the Front of our Camp ; and, over
" againſt that Hill, was a Village call'd *Unter-*
" *klau*, which we cauſed to be ſet on Fire, as
" well as two Mills, that were on the Rivu-
" let, in the Way down to *Blenheim* ; ſo that
" it was reſolved to defend only the Paſſage
" of the Rivulet, and the Moraſs, the Gene-
" rals being ordered to charge the Enemy, as
" they paſs'd, and *to take Heed not to let too*
" *many of them paſs*.

" THIS Reſolution being taken, we poſted
" the nineteen Battalions of our firſt Line, and
" ſeven of the ſecond, in the Village of *Blen-*
" *heim*. We, alſo, placed there our four Re-
" giments of Dragoons, on Foot, to the *Right*,

" along

" along the *Danube*; And from the Village 1704.
" of *Blenheim* to that of *Oberklau*, we poſted,
" on two Lines, eight and forty Squadrons of
" Monſ. *de Tallard*'s Army, and two and thirty
" of that of Monſ. *de Marſin*, with nine Bat-
" talions in the *Center*, and the Brigades of
" *Champagne* and *Bourbonnois*, to the *Right* of
" Monſ. *de Marſin*'s Village, that they might
" be at Hand, to ſuſtain either his Village, or
" the *Right* of his Cavalry. We placed Bat-
" teries, in all the Front, and both Armies
" cannonaded one another, 'till ten or eleven
" in the Morning, when the Attack firſt be-
" gan. During this Cannonading, Advice
" was brought to Monſ. *de Tallard*, that the
" Enemy march'd a great Number of Infan-
" try, to the *Right*; But that their Deſign
" was to attack the *Left* of Monſ. *de Marſin*,
" as the weakeſt Side, by Reaſon of the thin
" Wood, to which it reach'd. He went with
" Speed to the *Right*, which the Enemy did
" really deſign to attack, being advanced to
" paſs the Rivulet, in the whole Front of the
" Hill I have mention'd before, where all
" their Horſe was poſted, over againſt the
" *Right* of Monſ. *de Marſin*.

" Monſ. *de Silly*, and one of his Friends, † † *The Writer of this Letter.*
" were upon that Line, and ſeing that our
" Men were drawing off our Battery, they
" went thither and ſtopp'd them; And ſeing
" the *Engliſh* preparing themſelves to attack
" the Village of *Blenheim*, they reſolved to
" cauſe the firſt and ſecond Line of Horſe to
" march, as if the Marſhal (*de Tallard*) had
" been there preſent. He rode up to them full
" Gallop, and made them, indeed, advance;
" But unfortunately the Brigades of the two

" *Rights*

1704. " *Rights* did only march, nor did the *Gendar-*
" *merie* move, which gave the Enemy Time
" to form, without any Diſturbance, ſeveral
" Lines of Horſe, in all the Space of Ground,
" whither the Troops did not march, 'till a-
" bove three Quarters of an Hour after that
" firſt Charge. All the Men the Enemy had
" in the Bottom of the Valley were repulſed,
" as well thoſe who happened to be in the Way
" of the *Gendarmerie*, who marched, at laſt,
" intoxicated with Conceit of that ſmall Ad-
" vantage. We prepared ourſelves to receive
" the Enemy a ſecond Time, and neglected
" the great double Lines, which were forming
" at the Foot of that fatal Hill. Monſ. *de*
" *Silly* had his Horſe killed under him, and
" was thinking how to get another, when his
" Friend, ſeing the Marſhal *de Tallard*, joined
" him, and gave him an Account of the At-
" tack of the Village. Monſ. *de Tallard* re-
" ſolved to go thither, and, by that Means,
" the Hill was neglected, he not being able to
" perceive what paſs'd at the Foot of it.

" THUS they entered the Village, and Monſ.
" *de Tallard* redoubled his Care to ſecure that
" Poſt. At Length, he went out of that Vil-
" lage, and returned to the Cavalry. As he
" came to the *Right*, the Enemy began a freſh
" Attack: They advanced to the Village of
" *Blenheim*, to the very Muzzels of our Muſ-
" kets, but were repulſed. The *Gendarmerie*,
" who, with Sword in Hand, thought to have
" repuls'd the Enemy, that were before them,
" were expoſed to the Fire of ſome Infantry,
" well poſted, and were charg'd by ſome *Eng-*
" *liſh* Squadrons, which made them give Way,
" and drove them beyond a Rivulet which they

" had

" had behind them. In this Charge, Meſſrs. 1704.
" *de Surlaube* and *d'Imecourt* had their Horſes
" killed under them, and the firſt received ſix
" or ſeven Wounds. The Brigade of *Silly*,
" thro' the Intervals of which the *Gendarmerie*
" paſs'd to rally themſelves, charged the *Eng-*
" *liſh*, and made them repaſs the Rivulet, with
" Precipitation.

" DURING this briſk Attack, the Generals
" of our *Left*, and of Monſ. *de Marſin's Right*,
" awaked out of their *Fatal Drouſineſs*, and
" cauſed ſome Brigades to march to the Ene-
" my, whom they ſaw advanced almoſt to the
" Top of the Hill. All our Brigades charged
" briſkly, and made all the Squadrons they
" attack'd give Way; But theſe Squadrons
" being ſuſtained by ſeveral Lines of Horſe
" and Foot, our Men were forced to ſhrink
" back, and throw themſelves on our ſecond
" Line, which being at ſome Diſtance, gave
" the Enemy Time to gain Ground, which
" they maintained by their Numbers, and their
" *ſlow and cloſe March*. We rallied the Squa-
" drons of our firſt Line, and they charged
" again with the ſame Succeſs; But they were
" ſtill overpower'd, as were alſo the ſaid Bri-
" gades, and, at laſt, the ſecond Line.

" MONS. DE TALLARD interlaced our Bat-
" talions with our Cavalry, with Deſign to
" make a laſt *Effort* to break the double Lines
" of the Enemy. Our Men march'd up to
" them gallantly, and the Enemy's firſt Line
" threw themſelves on their ſecond. We gain-
" ed ſome Ground, and advanced to charge
" the ſecond Line; But this being ſtuſtained
" by a Third and Fourth, *Our Troopers fled,*
" *and our poor Battalions were cut in Pieces.*

" We

1704. " We rallied again the third Time the Cavalry
" which was broken; But it was ſo diminiſh-
" ed by the ſeveral Charges, that it now form-
" ed but one Line.

" THINGS being in this Condition, Monſ.
" *de Tallard* conſidered, that it was high Time
" to draw off the Dragoons and Infantry out
" of the Village of *Blenheim*, and, exhorting
" his Cavalry to ſtand their Ground, he took
" that Reſolution. He ſent a truſty Perſon
" to Monſ. *de Marſin*, *to deſire him to face*
" *the Enemy*, *with ſome Troops*, *on the Right*
" *of his Village*, *to keep them in Play*, *to favour*
" *the Retreat of our Infantry*; But he repre-
" ſented to the Meſſenger, *that he had too much*
" *on his Hands*, *in the Front of his Village*, *and*
" *the reſt of the Lines*, *to think of ſparing any*
" *Troops*, *he being ſo far from victorious*, *that*
" *he could but juſt maintain his Ground.* Du-
" ring this Diſcourſe, our Horſe had faced the
" Enemy; But, on a ſudden, they were
" ordered to wheel about, which, you will
" imagine, was done with great Diſorder. In
" ſhort, this was ſo precipitate a Flight, that
" many caſt themſelves into the *Danube*, and
" the Enemy let looſe three Regiments of
" Dragoons after them. Monſ. *de Tallard* was
" environ'd with the Fugitives, and taken in that
" Rout. Meſſrs. *de Mauperoux*, *de la Valliere*,
" *Silly*, *Seppeville*, *Meſſeliere*, *St. Pouange*, *Li-*
" *gondais*, and ſeveral others, were alſo made
" Priſoners.

" THE taking of Monſ. *de Tallard* is a
" great Misfortune for the King: For it is
" certain, that, with his Infantry, he might
" have made a very honourable Retreat;
" Whereas that Infantry is now *the Laughing-*
" *Stock*

" *Stock of Nations*, and uſeleſs to the King, 1704.
" for a long Time, in a War ſo violent as
" this is. In ſhort, to give you an Account
" of all that happen'd on that *Fatal Day*,
" Part of our Cavalry, and all the *Gendar-*
" *merie*, having thrown themſelves towards
" the *Danube*, into a narrow Nook, which
" formed a Demi-Iſland, they found themſelves
" cut off from the Reſt of the Army; Which
" forced many brave Men to throw them-
" ſelves into the *Danube*, to ſave themſelves.

" THE News of this being brought to *Grig-*
" *nan*'s Brigade, which was retired more to the
" *Left*, to paſs the Moraſs at *Hochſtadt*, they
" rallied and march'd to the Enemy, and made
" them abandon the *Defilee*, in which they
" were; And, thereby, diſengaged all thoſe,
" who were not either killed or taken. They
" then formed themſelves on the Height of
" *Hochſtadt*, and, marching on, faced the Ene-
" my, which gave us Time to draw off the
" wounded from that Place. This was the ſad
" Fate of a briſk and good Cavalry, which
" might have been uſed to better Purpoſe;
" But which we give over lamenting, as ſoon
" as we begin to conſider the wretched Deſti-
" ny of our Regiments of Foot.

" MESSIEURS *de Clerambaut* and *Blanzac*
" were the Officers who commanded the Dra-
" goons and Infantry in the Village of *Blen-*
" *heim*; And all that we can learn from ſome
" Officers, who were made Priſoners, and are
" come to our Camp, is, that Monſ. *de Cle-*
" *rambaut, without taking a Reſolution worthy*
" *of his Name, with a powerful Body, which*
" *was yet entire, as ſoon as he ſaw the Rout of*
" *our Cavalry, cauſed his Poſtillion to ſound the*
" Danube,

1704. " Danube, *and throwing himſelf into it, was*
" *drowned.* The Enemy, having ſurrounded
" the Village of *Blenheim*, by ſeveral Lines,
" advanced to ſtreighten it, cloſe on the *Left*
" Flank, where our *Right* of Horſe was be-
" fore poſted. Our Men were ſoon alarmed,
" and the Colonel of the Royal Regiment be-
" thought himſelf of ſaving his Life, and that
" of his Soldiers, whom he cauſed to lay down
" their Arms, and himſelf ſurrender'd the Co-
" lours. The Soldiers of *Surlaube*, who were,
" likewiſe, in the *Left* Flank, put themſelves
" into Diſorder, and entered the Center of the
" Village in Confuſion. Monſ. *de Siviere*, be-
" ing informed of this Diſorder, called the
" Regiments of *Provence* and *Artois*, and all
" that were reſolute, to him, and, with Sword
" in Hand, drove the Enemy to the very
" Head of their Cavalry, and returned to the
" Village leiſurely. Monſ. *de Siviere* had his
" Wriſt broken. *The Duke of* Marlborough
" *judging rightly, that there were old Troops in*
" *that Place, the overcoming of which would*
" *coſt him dear, made Uſe of Monſ.* Deſnoville,
" *his Priſoner, to exhort them to accept their*
" *Lives.* Monſ. *de Blanzac* conſented to it,
" and did his beſt to get the Conſent of *Na-*
" *varre*, who buried his Colours. All yielded
" Monſ. *de Blanzac* ſigned the Articles; But
" *Siviere* and *Jourry* refuſed to ſet their Hands
" to them. They were all diſarmed, and had
" their Colours taken from them. *Grief will*
" *not ſuffer me to carry this Recital any farther.*
" You may well imagine what a ſad Spectacle
" it is to ſee ſix and twenty Battalions, and
" four Regiments of Dragoons Priſoners. I
" leave that *Black Idea*, and return to the Vil-
" lage

" lage of *Oberklau*, the Quarters of Monſ. 1704.
" *de Marſin.*

" WHEN he ſaw the Horſe of his *Right*,
" and ours, routed, he bethought himſelf of re-
" treating, with his *Left*, which, thro' the
" Care of Count *de Bourg*, had always re-
" puls'd the Enemy, having charg'd them as
" they were half paſs'd. He drew off all his
" Infantry, and march'd leiſurely, as far as the
" Moraſs of *Hochſtadt*, which he repaſs'd in
" good Order, and came to *Dillingen*, where
" the Reſolution was taken to ſend all the
" Horſe to *Ulm*, by *Goldenfingen*, and to cauſe
" all the Baggage to paſs the *Danube*, during
" the Night. In the Morning, we drew up
" all the Infantry, and came to encamp at *Li-*
" *pent*, leaving 1000 Men at *Lawingen*, with
" Orders to retreat, as ſoon as the Enemy
" ſhould approach, and to burn the Bridge,
" which was done; and marching ſince, with
" Precipitation, we bring, to the King, *the*
" *poor Remains of an Army grieved to Death*,
" and which is no otherwiſe *Guilty*, than *thro'*
" *the Non-performance of the poſitive Order*,
" which had been given, *not to let the Enemy*
" *paſs the Rivulet*; and to charge them as they
" paſs'd, *altogether, and not by Brigades, as*
" *we did*, againſt *a Body form'd and formidable*,
" which at leaſt penetrated into our *Center*,
" and ſurrounded the Infantry, *&c.*

1704.

R.

A LETTER *from the Adjutant of the* Gendarmerie, *to Monſ.* de Chamillard.

MY LORD,

A Letter from the Adjutant of the Gendarmerie, *to Monſ.* de Chamillard.

" IN Obedience to your Command, in your " Letter of the Fifteenth, to inform you " of all that happen'd among the *Gendarme-* " *rie*, I ſhall begin, in the Abſence of the " *Major*, with acquainting you with the De- " ſpair of all the Officers, upon the News " they receive from *Paris*, wherein they find " that Monſ. *de Silly* ſpreads injurious and ma- " licious Reports againſt them. Is it poſſible, " My Lord, that the Reputation of a Body, " ſo well eſtabliſh'd every where, by ſo many " different Actions, can depend on the *Ca-* " *price or Malice of a private Man, without* " *Experience?* And is it juſt to believe him, " if he has a Mind to diſgrace ſo many brave " Men, who, in the Sight, both of Friends " and Enemies, have done all that could be " expected from Men of Courage? In that " *Unfortunate Day*, they did not fear to expoſe " themſelves to Death, for the Glory of the " Nation, and the King's Service; Never- " theleſs, it is but too true, that he has made " People believe all that he had a Mind to ſay " againſt us; ſo prevalent are the firſt Im- " preſſions! And, we are told, he has dared to " advance, that the Flight of the *Gendar-* " *merie* had occaſioned that of the Cavalry. " All the Army knows, that we had charged " twice, before the Cavalry had approach'd

" the

" the Enemy; that we faced them 'till ſix 1704.
" o'Clock in the Evening; and that it was in
" the *Center*, which was thin and weak,
" where the Enemy pierced thro'. This is
" Matter of Fact, which, I'll maintain, no
" Body will dare to contradict. Wherefore,
" My Lord, do not deny us, on this Occa-
" ſion, ſo very nice for us, and of ſo great
" Conſequence for all, the ſame Privilege,
" which is allowed to moſt Criminals; That
" is, not to paſs Judgment upon us, upon the
" Report of a ſingle Man, eſpecially one ſo
" exceptionable; but be pleaſed to judge of
" us, on the Teſtimony of ſeveral unexcep-
" tionable Witneſſes, who are Men of Expe-
" rience, who can ſee clearly what paſſes on
" Days of Action, and whom *Truth alone, not*
" *Envy, will cauſe to ſpeak.*

" You know, My Lord, we are very
" much envied, Witneſs the Battle of *Spire*,
" in which the *Gendarmerie* broke thro' the
" Enemy, with ſo much Rapidity, that they,
" thereby, gave Time to our Infantry to come
" up: Nevertheleſs, ſome had the Confidence
" to ſpeak ill of them, and to repreſent their
" Valour as Temerity, and their Conduct as
" Over-cautiouſneſs: But you were ſoon in-
" form'd of the Truth, and did us the Ju-
" ſtice which was due to us, as ſoon as you
" knew we march'd by Orders of the Generals
" only, and that we had diſcharg'd every Part
" of our Duty. Do us the Favour, My Lord,
" to ſearch into the Bottom of this laſt Af-
" fair; wherein our Body, as they were poſted,
" could do no more, than ſacrifice themſelves,
" as they did, without being able to ſucceed
" in their Charges, being continually expoſed

1704. " to the Fire of a cloſe Body of Infantry,
" ſuſtained by ſeveral Ranks ; and, above all,
" poſted in a ſhallow Way, with *Paliſadoes*
" before it. It is true, theſe *Paliſadoes* were
" not perceived, eſpecially by thoſe, who ſpeak
" ſo raſhly ; but they were perceived by thoſe
" who approach'd the Enemy, ſo near as we
" did. I muſt alſo make bold to tell you, My
" Lord, we have taken Notice more than once,
" that the Marſhal *de Tallard* had no Kindneſs
" for us ; tho', ſince he is a Priſoner, he has
" honoured us with ſeveral Compliments, on
" the Valour of our Officers, regretting ſo
" many gallant Men, who were either kill'd
" or wounded. The Reſpect we have for him
" will not ſuffer us nicely to enquire into our
" Misfortune of not being in his Favour :
" However, out of a certain Confidence,
" which Truth ſuggeſts, we cannot imagine,
" that he can ſay openly any ill Thing againſt
" us ; Nor that he could charge Monſ. *de Silly*,
" to caſt on us the Faults of that unfortu-
" nate Day, which, out of Diſcretion, we will
" impute to no Body.

" The Marſhal *de Tallard* did not ſee the
" two firſt Charges we made, not being re-
" turned to us 'till after thoſe two Actions.
" He was gone to the *Left* of Monſ. *de Mar-*
" *ſin*'s Army, and he might have ſeen, at his
" Return, that the Enemy had but two much
" Time to form four Lines, before us, one
" upon the other, which baffled our Efforts,
" and diſappointed our good Intentions. We
" overthrew, indeed, their firſt Line, more
" than once ; But it was ſtill ſuccoured, and
" animated again, by three others. Had we
" been Men who would run away, how could

" we

" we have had fifty-one Officers killed or " wounded, tho' there were three and twenty " abſent? And moſt of the Reſt had their " Horſes killed under them, as well as the " great Number of the *Gens d'Armes*, of " whom I have already had the Honour to " inform you. 1704.

" MESSIEURS *de Lainon*, *de Hautefort*, *de* " *Magnac*, and ſeveral others, may acquaint " you, that we remained with them, 'till ten of " the Clock, at Night, on the Height of " *Hochſtadt*; That we drew out of the Caſtle " Monſ. *de Surlaube* and Monſ. *de la Bahme*, " and that we brought up the *Rear* of all, as far " as *Ulm*. After all this, may not we hope, " My Lord, that you will be pleaſed to in- " form the King of the Truths I have the Ho- " nour to write to you, which are moſt cer- " tain? And that you will, thereby, give " ſome Comfort to Officers, who are grieved " to Death, and driven to Deſpair, by having " their Lives left them, after they had their " Honour taken from them?

I MUST not conclude this Chapter, without obſerving that the Muſes were not backward on this Occaſion. Many were their Productions in Honour of the Glorious and ever memorable Action, of which I have been giving a Relation. I ſhall give my Readers a Couple of the moſt celebrated; And begin with one we find inſerted in *Tom Brown*'s Works.

1704.

On the Duke of MARLBOROUGH's *Victory at* HOCHSTADT *in* 1704.

Verſes on the Battle of Hochſtadt.

THE conqu'ring Genius of our Iſle returns;
Inſpir'd by *Ann*, the *Godlike Hero* burns;
Retrieves the Fame our ill-led Troops had loſt,
And ſpreads reviving Valour thro' the Hoſt.
In diſtant Climes the wond'ring Foe alarms,
And with new Thunder *Auſtria*'s Eagle arms.
The *Danube*'s Banks, forgetting *Cæſar*'s Name,
Shall eccho to the Sound of *Marlb'rough*'s Fame.
The Shepherd's Pipes rejoyce o'er *Gallick* Blood,
And with eternal Purple ſtain the Flood.

BUT of all the Poetical Performances, which appeared on this Occaſion, none came up to that inimitable Poem of Mr. *Addiſon*'s, call'd the *Campaign*; Which would very well deſerve a Place here entire, among other Monuments of our *Hero*'s Glory; But as I have given the Reader ſome Fragments of this excellent Piece, in other Parts of this Work, I ſhall only inſert that Part of it here which regards this auſpicious Day.

Part of Mr. Addiſon's Campaign.

THE fatal Day its mighty Courſe began,
That the griev'd World had long deſir'd in vain:
States that their new Captivity bemoan'd,
Armies of *Martyrs*, that in Exile groan'd;
Sighs from the Depth of gloomy Dungeons heard,
And Pray'rs in Bitterneſs of Soul preferr'd.
Europe's loud Cries, that *Providence* aſſail'd,
And ANNA's ardent Vows, at Length, prevail'd;
The Day was come, when *Heav'n* deſign'd to ſhow
His Care and Conduct of the World below.
BEHOLD, in awful March, and dread Array,
The long-extended Squadrons ſhape their Way!
Death,

1704.

Death, in approaching terrible, imparts
An anxious Horror to the braveſt Hearts;
Yet do their beating Breaſts demand the Strife,
And Thirſt of Glory quells the Love of Life;
No vulgar Fears can *Britiſh* Minds controul,
Heat of Revenge, and noble Pride of Soul,
O'er-look the Foe, advantag'd by his Poſt,
Leſſen his Numbers, and contract his Hoſt:
Tho' Fens and Floods poſſeſs'd the middle Space,
That unprovok'd they would have fear'd to paſs,
Nor Fens, nor Floods, can ſtop *Britannia*'s Bands,
When her proud Foe rang'd on their Borders ſtands.
BUT O, my Muſe, what Numbers wilt thou find,
To ſing the furious Troops in Battle join'd!
Methinks I hear the Drum's tumultuous Sound,
The Victor's Shouts, and dying Groans confound,
The dreadful Burſt of Cannon rend the Skies,
And all the Thunder of the Battle riſe.

An Obſervation of the Tatler *on ſome Lines of it.*

"THE Author of the *Tatler* obſerves, that "*the higheſt Act of the Mind is to poſſeſs itſelf* "*with Tranquility, in imminent Danger, and to* "*have it's Thoughts ſo free, as to act, at that* "*Time, without Perplexity.* He then men- "tions ſeveral of the *Simile*'s of the Ancients "to expreſs this Act; after which he goes on: "*But the ſublime Image I am talking of, and* "*which I really think is as great as ever enter'd* "*into the Thought of Man, is in the Poem* "*call'd the* CAMPAIGN; *Where the Simile* "*of a Miniſtring Angel ſets forth the moſt ſedate,* "*and the moſt active Courage, engaged in an* "*Uproar of Nature, a Confuſion of Elements,* "*and a Scene of Divine Vengeance.*" This Sublime Image is painted in the following fourteen Lines.

1704. " 'TWAS then great *Marlbro*'s mighty Soul was
" prov'd,
" That in the Shock of charging Hoſts unmov'd,
" Amidſt Confuſion, Horror, and Deſpair,
" Examin'd all the dreadful Scenes of War;
" In peaceful Thought, the Field of Death ſurvey'd,
" To fainting Squadrons ſent the timely Aid,
" Inſpir'd repuls'd Battalions to engage,
" And taught the doubtful Battle where to rage.
" *So when an Angel, by Divine Command,*
" *With riſing Tempeſts ſhakes a guilty Land,*
" *Such as of late o'er pale* BRITANNIA *paſs'd,*
" *Calm and Serene he drives the furious Blaſt;*
" *And pleas'd th'* ALMIGHTY*'s Orders to perform,*
" *Rides in the Whirl-wind, and directs the Storm.*

Theſe Lines (adds the Author, I mentioned above) *compliment the General, and his Queen, at the ſame Time, and have all the natural Horrors, heighten'd by the Image, that was ſtill freſh in the Mind of every Reader.* (Meaning, I preſume, the dreadful *November*-Storm.) Our excellent Poet then proceeds.

Continuation of Part of the Poem.

BUT ſee, the haughty Houſhold Troops advance!
The Dread of *Europe*, and the Pride of *France*.
The War's whole Art each private Soldier knows,
And with a Gen'ral's Love of Conqueſt glows;
Proudly he Marches on, and, void of Fear,
Laughs at the ſhaking of the *Britiſh* Spear;
Vain Inſolence! with Native Freedom brave,
The meaneſt BRITON *ſcorns the higheſt Slave*;
Contempt and Fury fire their Souls, by Turns,
Each Nation's Glory, in each Warrior burns:
Each fights, as in his Arm th' important Day,
And all the Fate of his great Monarch lay:
A Thouſand glorious Actions, that might claim
Triumphant Laurels, and immortal Fame,
Confus'd in Crouds of glorious Actions ly,
And Troops of Heroes undiſtinguiſhed dy.

1704.

O *Dormer*, how can I behold thy Fate,
And not the Wonders of thy Youth relate!
How can I ſee the Gay, the Brave, the Young,
Fall in the Croud of War, and ly unſung!
In Joys of Conqueſt, he reſigns his Breath,
And, fill'd with *England*'s Glory, ſmiles in Death.

THE Rout begins, the *Gallic* Squadrons run,
Compell'd in Crouds, to meet the Fate they ſhun;
Thouſands of fiery Steeds, with Wounds transfix'd,
Floating in Gore, with their dead Maſters mixt;
Midſt Heaps of Spears and Standards driv'n around,
Ly in the *Danube*'s bloody Whirl-pools drown'd.
Troops of bold Youths, born on the diſtant *Soan*,
Or ſounding Borders of the rapid *Rhône*,
Or where the *Sein* her flowry Fields divides,
Or where the *Loire* thro' winding Vineyards glides;
In Heaps the rolling Billows ſweep away,
And into *Scythian* Seas their bloated Corpſe convey.
From *Blenheim*'s Tow'rs the *Gaul*, with wild Affright,
Beholds the various Havock of the Fight;
His waving Banners, that ſo oft had ſtood
Planted in Fields of Death, and Streams of Blood;
So wont the guarded Enemy to reach,
And riſe Triumphant in the fatal Breach;
Or pierce the broken Foe's remoteſt Lines,
The hardy Veteran with Tears reſigns.

UNFORTUNATE *Tallard!* Oh who can name
The Pangs of Rage, of Sorrow, and of Shame,
That, with mix'd Tumult, in thy Boſom ſwell'd!
When firſt thou ſaw'ſt thy Braveſt Troops repell'd,
Thine only Son, pierc'd with a deadly Wound,
Choak'd in his Blood, and gaſping on the Ground,
Thy ſelf in Bondage by the VICTOR kept!
The Chief, the Father, and the Captive wept.
An *Engliſh* Muſe is touch'd with gen'rous Woe,
And, in th' unhappy Man, forgets the Foe.
Greatly diſtreſs'd! thy loud Complaints forbear,
Blame not the Turns of Fate, and Chance of War;
Give thy brave Foes their Due, nor bluſh to own,
The fatal Field by ſuch great Leaders won;

The

1704. *The Field whence fam'd* EUGEINO *bore away*
Only the ſecond Honours of the Day.
WITH Floods of Gore, that from the Vanquiſh'd fell,
The Marſhes ſtagnate, and the Rivers ſwell.
Mountains of Slain ly heap'd upon the Ground,
Or 'midſt the Roarings of the *Danube* drown'd;
Whole Captive Hoſts the Conqueror detains,
In painful Bondage, and inglorious Chains;
Ev'n thoſe who 'ſcape the Fetters and the Sword,
Nor ſeek the Fortunes of a happier Lord,
Their raging King diſhonours, to compleat
Marlbro's great Work, and finiſh the Defeat.

An Obſervation of the Tatler *upon the whole.*

THIS whole Poem (*ſays the Author of the* Tatler) is ſo exquiſitely Noble and Poetick, that I think it an Honour to our Nation and Language. Such a Performance (*continues he*) is a Chronicle as well as a Poem, and will preſerve the Memory of our *Hero*, when all the Edifices and Statutes erected to his Honour are blended with common Duſt.

Medals ſtruck on this Occaſion

SEVERAL *Medals* were likewiſe ſtruck, on this Occaſion: In *London* we had the following.

On the Battle of BLENHEIM.

ON the *Face*, the Queen's *Buſto*, with Her Title, as uſual.

ON the *Reverſe*, BRITANNIA, with her Spear, in her Right Hand, and VICTORY, with her ATTRIBUTES, in her Left: Near her a Captive pinion'd on Trophies: With this *Legend*, DE GALL. ET BAV. AD BLENHEIM. That is, *De Gallis, & Bavaris, ad* Blenheim: In *Engliſh*, *Of the* French *and* Bavarians, *at* Blenheim.

IN

B:Cole Sculpt

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In the EXERGUE. CAPT. ET CÆS. XXX. M. SIGN. RELAT. CLXIII. That is: *Capta & cæsa triginta Millia, Signa Relata, Centum Sexaginta Tria*, 1704. In *English*, *Thirty Thousand Men taken or kill'd, and One Hundred Sixty Three Standards or Colours carried off*, 1704. 1704.

IN *Holland*, the following two Medals appeared, on this Occasion.

I.

A LARGE *Medallion*, on the Face of which are represented the *Busto*'s of Prince *Eugene*, and the Duke of *Marlborough*, facing each other, with these Inscriptions over them:

EUGENIUS, PRINCEPS SABAUDIÆ.
JOHANNES DUX MARLBOROUGH.

Eugene Prince of *Savoy*. *John* Duke of *Marlborough*.

UNDER them, in the *Exergue*, is the following Distich:

HIC POLLUX, HIC CASTOR ADEST, QUOS GLORIA FRATRES,
HOOGSTETQUE FACIT. TU QUOQUE, GALLE, VIDES.

Behold Pollux *and* Castor, *whom Glory, and the Battle of* Hochstadt *have render'd Brethren: Of which Thou*, O France, *art a Witness.*

ON

1704. ON the *Reverſe*, is repreſented the Battle of *Hochſtadt*, with our two *Heroes*, on Horſeback, encouraging and giving a good Example to their Troops. The Field of Battle is cover'd with the Enemy's Dead; And on the Front is ſeen a Troop of them laying down their Arms, and, among them, the Marſhal *de Tallard* delivering his Sword to our Victorious General. In the Air, Fame trumpeting the Glory of this Memorable Day; With the following Words:

HEROUM CONCORDIA VICTRIX.

The Victory is owing to the Unanimity of theſe two Heroes.

And, in the *Exergue*, the following Diſtich:

QUÆ CONJUNCTA SIMUL NUNC FULGENT SIDERA, AMICIS,
HOSTE TRIUMPHATO, PROSPERA CUNCTA FERUNT.

Theſe two bright Conſtellations, which ſhine forth here with the greateſt Luſtre, having triumph'd over the Enemy, carry Proſperity with them, where-ever they go.

II.

A LARGE *Medal*, repreſenting, on the Face, Prince *Eugene*, and the Duke of *Marlborough*, in the Habit of a *Roman* Warriour, on their Knees, imploring the *Divine* Aſſiſtance, in the following Words.

UT

UT SESE TERTIUS ADDAT. DUX DEUS. 1704.

That the Almighty would join with them, and be their Leader.

AND on the *Reverſe*, a Repreſentation of the Battle of *Hochſtadt*, with the following Inſcription round it.

SOCIUM COMITANTIBUS ARMIS
TEUTONIÆ TANTIS SE TOLLIT GLORIA REBUS.
AD HOCHSTADT, 13. AUGUSTI, 1704.

Such Glory has accrued to Germany, *by the Junction of the Troops of her* Allies, *at* Hochſtadt, *Aug.* 13. 1704.

CHAP. VIII.

Proceedings of the Confederate *Armies, after the Battle of* Hochſtadt, *with other Tranſactions, to the Concluſion of the Year*, 1704.

HAVING given as particular an Account as I have been able, of the famous Battle of *Hochſtadt* or *Blenheim*, I now proceed to what follow'd, after this Victory, the remaining Part of the Campaign.

THE *Elector* of *Bavaria*, and the Marſhal *de Marſin*, having gathered the Remains of their Defeat, behind the Moraſs of *Hochſtadt*, reſted *Retreat of the* Elector *of* Bavaria.

1704. reſted there ſome Hours, and, that very Night, cauſed their Baggage to paſs the *Danube*, and ſent their Horſe towards *Ulm*, by *Gondelfingen*. The next Morning, before Break of Day, they drew off the Infantry and paſſed the *Danube* at *Lawingen*, *where they left* 1000 *Men, with Orders to retreat as ſoon as the Enemy ſhould approach, and to burn the Bridge; which was done accordingly.* The *Elector* ſent Orders, at the ſame Time, to his Troops in *Augsburg* and other Places, to quit them, and come to join him, at *Ulm*, whither he march'd, with the greateſt Precipitation. The Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* would have followed him, with equal Speed; But the great Number of their Priſoners was a Luggage, which retarded their Progreſs four or five Days.

See Letter Q. in the foregoing Chapter.

Motions of the Confederate *Army.*

THE Night after the Battle, the *Confederate* Army drew up, and lay on their Arms, near the Moraſs of *Hochſtadt*, their *Left* extending itſelf towards the Village of *Sonderen*, and the *Right* towards *Morſelingen*. The next Day (the fourteenth of *Auguſt*, N. S.) they made a ſmall Motion, and came with the *Right* to *Wittiſling*, and the *Left* to *Steinheim*, oppoſite to *Lawingen* and *Dillingen*, where the Duke of *Marlborough* thought fit to ſtay, 'till the nineteenth of *Auguſt*, that his wearied Troops might refreſh themſelves, and thoſe who were ſlightly hurt recover their Wounds.

Reaſons why the Confederate *Generals ſuffered the Enemy to retreat.*

IT may here very naturally be ask'd; Why, after ſo compleat a Victory, and the great Conſternation and Confuſion the Remains of the Enemy's Army was thrown into, the *Confederate* Generals, upon their abandoning the Places they had ſeiz'd, did not cut off their Retreat towards

towards, and over the *Rhine* again, and why they did not ſurround them in a Country, where Victory had now render'd the *Allies* their Maſters and Superiours: To this, it may be anſwered; That their Troops were not only very much fatigued but in Want of ſeveral Sorts of Proviſions; That they were very much embaraſs'd with their great Number of Priſoners; And that they could not know what Succours or Re-inforcements the Enemy might meet with in their March, in which, at leaſt they would find the Marſhal *de Villeroy*, with his little Army. 1704.

Opinion of the Duke of Marlborough *and Prince* Eugene;

His Grace and Prince *Eugene*, therefore, wiſely conſidering; "That the Face of Affairs in that Country was wholly changed, "they imparted to Prince *Lewis* their Sentiments, that to amuſe themſelves at the Siege "of *Ingoldſtadt*, would be but loſing Time; "And that they believed it would be more advantageous, for the Good of the common "Cauſe, to join all their Forces, to ſtreighten "the Enemy more and more, and oblige the "*French* to quit *Germany*, and repaſs the "*Rhine*; For then, not only *Ingoldſtadt*, but "alſo the whole Country of *Bavaria* muſt fall "of themſelves.

Verified.

Nor was it long before this Opinion of the *Duke*'s, and of Prince *Eugene*'s, was confirmed, by the Example of the City of *Augsburg*, which the *French*, in Garriſon there, quitted, the ſixteenth of *Auguſt*, carrying with them four Hoſtages, as a Security for 2,000 ſick and wounded Men, whom they left in the Place. The Magiſtrates, being, thereupon, immediately aſſembled, ſent four Deputies to wait on the Duke of *Marlborough*, and deſire his

The City of Augsburg *deſire the Duke's Protection.*

1704. his Protection. His Grace gave them a very favourable Reception, and told them, *They had nothing to fear from the Troops of Her* Britannick *Majeſty, and the* States General, *who were only ſent againſt the Enemies of the* Empire *and their* Allies: And thereupon, his Grace ſent a Detachment to take Poſſeſſion of that City. Nothing could be a greater Argument of the Enemy's Weakneſs, and Conſternation, than the abandoning of this important Place, ſituated upon a conſiderable River, covering *Bavaria*; Which the *Elector* was in a Condition, before this Diſaſter, to maintain, without the Aſſiſtance of the Marſhal *de Tallard*.

See Letter E. in the foregoing Chapter.

His Anſwer.

A Thankſgiving celebrated in the Army.

THE next Day, the whole *Confederate* Army return'd their ſolemn Thanks to ALMIGHTY GOD, the Giver of all Victory, and made a Triple Diſcharge of all their Cannon and ſmall Arms, as a Rejoicing for their late *Glorious Succeſs*. The eighteenth, the Marſhal *de Tallard*, with moſt of the other Priſoners of Diſtinction, were ſent from *Hochſtadt*, towards *Hanau* and *Frankfort*, under a Guard of forty *Engliſh* Horſe. At the ſame Time, the Repartition of all the Reſt of the Priſoners being made, the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Share amounted to 5678 Men, and that of Prince *Eugene* to 5514, in all 11,192; beſides 3000 *Germans* of the Regiments of *Greder* and *Surlauben*, who liſted themſelves voluntarily in the Service of the *Allies*.

The Priſoners of Diſtinction ſent towards Frankfort.

See Letter O. and P.

Farther Progreſs of the Confederate *Army.*

THE nineteenth, the Army marched from *Steinheim*, and encamped, with the *Right*, at *Puntz*, and the *Left* at *Gondelfingen*, from whence they advanced, the twentieth, to *Languenau* and *Ober-Elchingen*, and the next Day came to *Sefelingen*, within little more than an

Engliſh

English Mile from *Ulm*, where the *Elector* of *Bavaria*, not thinking himself safe, had left a Garrison of four *French*, and five *Bavarian* Battalions, and was retired up the *Danube* towards the *Iller*. The same Morning, the Duke came to *Sefelingen*, a Deputy from the City of *Memmingen* (a free Imperial City of *Suabia*, which had been seized by the *Elector* of *Bavaria*) waited on his Grace, to desire his Protection, and reported; That the *Electress* of *Bavaria* was gone thro' that Place, with five of her Children, under a Guard of fourteen Squadrons, endeavouring to join the *Elector*, who was then about *Dutlingen*. 1704.

See Letter H. in the foregoing Chapter.

Memmingen *desires the D. of* Marlborough's *Protection.*

THE *Elector* of *Bavaria*'s Communication with his own Country being entirely cut off, a Trumpeter came, the twenty-third, at Night, to the *Confederate* Camp, with a Letter from his *Electoral* Highness, desiring the Duke would give Conveyance, to one enclos'd, to the *Electress*, which his Grace forwarded by a Trumpeter of his own to *Munich*, whither the *Electress* was gone with her Children. The next Day, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* came to *Sefelingen*, to confer with the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*, having left his Army encamp'd at *Lawingen*.

THE five and twentieth, these three Generals had a long Conference, wherein they concerted the farther Operations of the Campaign; And it was resolved: "That, seing the Enemy "were returning towards the *Rhine*, all the "*Confederate* Forces should likewise march "that Way, except three and twenty Battali- "ons, and some Squadrons, which should be "left under the Command of General *Thun-* "*gen*, to carry on the Siege of *Ulm*, and that

A Conference between the D. Pr. Lewis, *and Pr.* Eugene.

Result of it.

1704. "Count *Wratiſlau* ſhould continue in the Camp "before that Place, to manage the Negotiati- "ons with the *Electreſs*, who made ſome "*Overtures*, to deliver, not only *Ulm*, but "the whole *Electorate* of *Bavaria*, upon cer- "tain Conditions."

Proceedings thereupon. THIS Reſolution being taken, the *Confederate* Troops removed, the next Day, from the Neighbourhood of *Ulm*, towards the *Rhine*, by different Roads, for the Eaſe of the Country of *Wirtemberg*. The *Dutch* and *Heſſians* march'd together one Way; the *Hannoverians* and *Lunenburgers*, another; and the *Engliſh* and *Danes* under the Command of General *Churchill*, advanced from *Sefelingen* to *Launſheim*. The ſeven and twentieth, the latter continued their March to *Groſz-Seiſen*, and, the eight and twentieth, to *Eberſpach*, where they reſted the nine and twentieth. The thirtieth, they came to *Groſz-Heppach*, and, the thirty-firſt, to *Mundelſheim*, where the Duke of *Marlborough* joined them, the ſame Evening, from the Camp before *Ulm*.

The Duke of Marlb. *entertain'd by the Duke Regent of* Wirtemberg. THE firſt of *September*, the *Engliſh* and *Daniſh* Troops halted, at *Mundelſheim*; and the Duke of *Marlborough* having received an Invitation from the Duke Regent of *Wirtemberg*, by his Grand Marſhal, to his Reſidence at *Stutgart*, his Grace went thither, that Morning, accompanied by ſeveral General Officers, and, after a very magnificent Entertainment, returned, in the Evening, to the Army, which,

His Army paſſes the Neckar. the next Day, paſs'd the *Neckar*, at *Lauffen*, and came to *Groſz-Gardach*. The third, they left *Groſz-Gardach*, and advanced to *Eppingen*; and, the fourth, the Duke of *Marlborough*, with the *Engliſh* and *Daniſh* Horſe, marched to *Steffelt*, whilſt

whilſt the Foot moved, the ſame Day, to *Odenheim*. 1704.

THE Enemy having repaſs'd the *Black Foreſt*, and being ſince retir'd over the *Rhine*, Prince *Eugene* did not go to *Rotweil*, as he intended, but went directly to *Raſtat*, to draw the Troops together, and march with them towards *Philipſburg*, where he arrived the ſecond of *September*. The fifth, early in the Morning, the Duke of *Marlborough* went from *Steffelt* to *Philipſburg*, where he was receiv'd, with all imaginable Reſpect, under a general Diſcharge of the Cannon of that Place; and, from thence, he made a Viſit to Prince *Eugene*, at his Quarters at *Waghaus*. After Dinner, the Prince and the Duke went together, accompanied by the Count of *Naſſau Weilburg*, and other General Officers of the *Palatine* Troops, and, paſſing the *Rhine*, viewed the Camp of *Spierbach*. In the Evening, the Duke returned to *Steffelt*, where the *Engliſh* and *Daniſh* Foot being arrived, that Day, his Grace advanced the ſixth, with the Army, to *Kirloch*; and having Advice there, that ſeveral of the Enemy's Squadrons appeared on the Riſing Ground, over-againſt *Philipſburg*, he order'd the *Engliſh* and *Daniſh* Horſe to paſs over the *Rhine*, with all Expedition, to join the *Palatine* Troops, which Prince *Eugene* had ſent over that Morning. They immediately advanced towards the Enemy, who, thereupon, retired over the River *Queich*, to *Gemerſheim*, and our Army encamp'd, on this Side.

The Enemy retires over the Rhine.

The Generals view the Camp of Spirebach.

The Engliſh *and* Daniſh *Horſe paſs the* Rhine.

The Enemy retires before them.

THE ſeventh, the *Engliſh* and *Daniſh* Foot, with the *Dutch* Troops, and thoſe of *Lunenburg* and *Heſſe*, likewiſe, paſſed over, and, together with thoſe that were before on that Side,

The Reſt of the Army paſſes the Rhine.

1704. encamp'd on the *Spierbach*. The eighth, in the Morning, they were join'd by the *Imperial* Horſe, and Prince *Lewis* arrived, at the ſame Time, from *Aſchaffenburg*. They had Advice, that the Marſhals *de Villeroy*, and *de Marſin*, with Monſ. *de Coigny*, and the Forces under his Command, were advanced to the River *Queich*, and had poſſeſſed themſelves of all the Paſſes, to prevent the *Confederates* going over that River, in Order to inveſt *Landau*. The ninth, at Day-break, the Army march'd from *Spirebach*, with Intent to encamp as near the River *Queich*, as the Ground would allow of, near to *Belheim*-Paſs, in Order to bring the Enemy to a ſecond Battle, or to oblige them to quit the Paſs. But the Generals having Advice, that the Enemy had quitted their Camp, on the other Side that River, and were retired, in great Confuſion, towards the *Laute*, notwithſtanding they had been, for ſome Days, fortifying and palliſſading all the Fords and Paſſes, Orders were immediately given for the Army to advance, and paſs over it, which they did, that Afternoon; the Foot marching over, on ſeveral Bridges, which the Enemy had broke down, but were ſoon repair'd, and the Horſe fording it over, in ſeveral Places; and they encamp'd, with their *Right* at *Offenbach*, near *Landau*, and their *Left* at *Rellen*, being the Ground from whence the Enemy had retir'd that Morning; having left Store of Fruits and other Refreſhments behind them.

The Enemy forſake all their Paſſes;

Which the Confederates *take Poſſeſſion of.*

Some of the Enemy's Squadrons routed.

THE ſame Day, a Party of *Imperial* Horſe, having met ſome Squadrons of the Enemy, commanded by the Duke *de Montfort*, a Major-General, who had been conducting four Battalions,

Battalions, and a Sum of Mony, into *Landau*, fell upon them, with great Vigour, and put them to the Rout, killing upwards of 100 on the Spot, taking ſeveral Priſoners, and deſperately wounding their Commander, who, died a few Days after. The tenth, in the Morning, they advanced again, towards the Enemy, who lay that Night, on their Arms, and as ſoon as they had Notice, that the *Confederates* intended to march, retired in great Confuſion, towards the River *Lauter*, while the *Confederates* encamped, with their *Right*, at *Barelroth*, and their *Left* at *Langencandel*, where they halted, the eleventh. 1704.

Their Army retires in great Confuſion.

IN the mean Time, the Enemy paſſed the *Lauter*, and marched to *Haguenau*; And having thus quitted all the Poſts from whence they might have obſtructed the Attack of *Landau*, Prince *Lewis* marched thither, the twelfth, with the Troops which were to beſiege that Place, in Order to inveſt it; And the Duke of *Marlborough*, with Prince *Eugene*, came to the Camp of *Crone-Weſſemburg*, on the little River *Lauter*, to cover the Siege.

Landau *inveſted, by Prince* Lewis.

The Duke and Prince Eugene *cover the Siege.*

THE Duke put a Garriſon into *Lauterburg*, and gave Directions, that one of the Bridges, which the *Confederates* had, at *Philipſburg*, ſhould be brought from thence, and laid over the *Rhine*, near that Town, to preſerve a Communication with the other Side of the River, for the better Subſiſtance of the Army. Brigadier-General *Ferguſon* marched, the ſame Day, with five Battalions of *Engliſh* Foot, *viz.* one of the Royal Regiment, General *Churchill*'s, the Lord *North and Gray*'s, Brigadier *Row*'s, and Brigadier *Meredith*'s Regiments, for *Mentz*,

1704. where they were to embark with the *French* Priſoners, and to conduct them to *Holland*.

The French *Priſoners ſent for* Holland.

THE ſame Night, likewiſe, the Duke of *Marlborough* received an Expreſs from General *Thungen*, with Advice, "That having formed "the Siege of *Ulm*, and received his great Ar- "tillery, the eighth of *September*, the Garri- "ſon beat a Parly, the tenth, and, the ele- "venth, ſurrendered that Place, upon Ho- "nourable Terms, which he was inclined to "grant, that no Time might be loſt for the "farther Execution of the Projects of this "Campaign". The *Imperialiſts* found in *Ulm*, 222 Pieces of Braſs Cannon, 12 Iron Guns, 25 Braſs Mortars, 1200 Barrels of Powder, with other Stores and Proviſions in great Abundance; A ſeaſonable Supply for carrying on the Siege of *Landau*.

Ulm ſurrendered to the Allies.

Booty found there.

I SHALL now leave the Duke of *Marlborough*, for a while, making the neceſſary Preparations, for this Siege, and return to *England*.

The States General *congratulate Her Majeſty on the Victory of* Blenheim.

THE twentieth of *Auguſt*, O. S. Monſ. *Vryberge*, Envoy Extraordinary from the *States General*, deliver'd to Her Majeſty, at *Windſor*, a Letter from Their *High Mightineſſes*, and, by expreſs Order from his Maſters, *congratulated Her Majeſty upon the late Victory obtained, by the Army of the* Allies, *under the valiant and wiſe Conduct of the Duke of* Marlborough.

THE joyful News of the great Victory obtained by Her Majeſty's Forces, and thoſe of Her *Allies*, had been brought over to *England* ſome Days before, firſt by Colonel *Park*, and ſoon after by the Lord *Tunbridge*, who both attended the Duke of *Marlborough*, as his *Aids de Camp*, on that great Day. Hereupon Her Majeſty,

See Letter B. C. *in the foregoing Chapter.*

Majeſty, being deeply ſenſible of this General Bleſſing, " and moſt devoutly acknowledging " the Goodneſs of ALMIGHTY GOD, who had " afforded Her His Protection and Aſſiſtance, " in the juſt War, in which She was engaged ", appointed the ſeventh of *September*, to be obſerved throughout this Kingdom, as a Day of *Publick Thankſgiving*. 1704.

A General Thankſgiving appointed.

As this Victory was, in all it's Circumſtances, the moſt Glorious and Conſiderable, that had been gained in many Ages, the Rejoycings in *London* and *Weſtminſter* were ſuitable to the great Occaſion; And Her Majeſty's Subjects gave all the Demonſtrations imaginable of their Affection to Her Majeſty's Perſon, and Zeal for Her Government. This Feſtival was obſerved, in all the other Parts of Her Majeſty's Dominions, if not with the ſame Solemnity, yet with as great Affection and Loyalty; And both before that Day, and many Months after, Her Majeſty's Court was throng'd by Deputies, from all the Corporations and Publick Societies, in the three Kingdoms, and in the Remoteſt Plantations, who waited on Her Majeſty with Congratulatory Addreſſes, for the Glorious Succeſſes of Her Majeſty's Arms, under the wiſe Conduct of the Duke of *Marlborough*. Nor did the Foreign Miniſters, in *England*, omit to compliment Her Majeſty, on that great Occaſion.

Great Rejoycings throughout all England, *on that Day.*

Numerous congratulatory Addreſſes preſented to Her Majeſty.

I SHALL now return to the Duke of *Marlborough*, whom I left, with Prince *Eugene*, at the Camp of *Crone-Weiſſemburg*, covering the Siege of *Landau*, before which Place, the Trenches were opened, the ſixteenth of *September*, N. S. The Day before, his Grace went to the Camp before that Place, and, upon his

The Trenches open'd before Landau.

1704. Return, was ſeized, that Night, with a Fit of an Ague, of which, however, he happily recovered, in a ſhort Time.

Puſillanimity of the French. WHILE the Duke of *Marlborough* lay covering the Siege, the Marſhal *de Villeroy* came and look'd on him; But as the *Confederates* were exalted with their Succeſs, ſo were the *French* too much diſpirited with their Loſſes, to make any Attack, or to put any Thing to hazard, in Order to raiſe the Siege. They retired and went into Quarters, truſting to the bad State of the *Imperial* Army, who were ill provided, and ill ſupplied. Prince *Lewis* had neither Engineers nor Ammunition, and wanted Mony to provide them; So that if the Duke had not ſupplied him, he muſt have been forced to give over the Siege.

Ill State of the Imperial *Army.*

The King of the Romans *comes before* Landau. THE twenty-firſt, the King of the *Romans* (afterwards, *Emperor Joſeph*) arrived before *Landau*, and the Duke of *Marlborough*, who by this Time, was perfectly recovered of his Indiſpoſition, waited on His Majeſty, the next Day, accompanied by Prince *Eugene*, and ſeveral other General Officers. His Grace was received by that *Imperial* Prince, with ſuch Demonſtrations of Joy and Affection, as ſufficiently expreſs'd the high Eſteem, He had of his Grace's Perſonal Merit, and of the great Services he had done to his Majeſty's Family, and to the whole *Empire*.

Is viſited by the D. of Marlborough.

THE illuſtrious Author of the *Campaign* deſcribes this Interview, between the King of the *Romans*, and our *Hero*, in the following excellent Lines.

AUSTRIA's

1704.

AUSTRIA's young Monarch, whoſe *Imperial* Sway
Scepters and Thrones are deſtin'd to obey,
Whoſe boaſted Anceſtry ſo high extends,
That in the *Pagan Gods* his Lineage ends,
Comes from a-far, in Gratitude to own
THE GREAT SUPPORTER OF HIS FATHER's THRONE:
What Tides of Glory to his Boſom ran,
Claſp'd in th' Embraces of the GODLIKE MAN!
How were his Eyes with pleaſing Wonder fix'd,
To ſee ſuch Fire, with ſuch Sweetneſs mix'd;
Such eaſy Greatneſs, ſuch a graceful Port,
So turn'd and finiſh'd for the Camp or Court!
ACHILLES thus was form'd with every Grace,
And *Nireus* ſhone but in the ſecond Place;
Thus the great Father of Almighty *Rome*
(Divinely flufh'd with an immortal Bloom,
That *Cytherea*'s fragrant Breath beſtow'd)
In all the Charms of his bright Mother glow'd.
THE Royal Youth, by *Marlbro*'s Preſence charm'd,
Taught by his Counſels, by his Actions warm'd,
On *Landau*, with redoubled Fury, falls,
Diſcharges all his Thunder on its Walls;
O'er Mines and Caves of Death provokes the Fight,
And learns to conquer in the *Hero*'s Sight.

THE Duke ſtaid two Days before *Landau*, and, having viewed the Approaches, which he found in pretty good Forwardneſs, he return'd to his own Camp, at *Crone-Weiſſemburg*, whither Prince *Eugene* followed him, the next Day; And, upon his Arrival, four Regiments were ſent to re-inforce the Siege.

THE eight and twentieth, in the Morning, the Duke of *Marlborough* again waited on the King of the *Romans*, to a Review of the Army before *Landau*, which had been lately re-inforced by

1704. by the Troops from before *Ulm*, and his Grace returned to *Weiſſemburg*, the next Day.

The King of the Romans *viſits the D. of* Marlborough.

THE ſecond of *October*, the King of the *Romans*, attended by the principal Officers of his Court and Army, went from his Camp before *Landau* to *Crone-Weiſſemburg*, to make the Duke a Viſit, and ſee his Victorious Troops. His Grace, having Notice of His coming, drew up his Forces, in two Lines, and receiving His Majeſty, at the left Wing of his Army, waited on him all along the Line, and ſaluted him with a triple Diſcharge of all the Artillery and ſmall Arms. The King being extreamly well ſatisfied, at the good Condition he found the Duke's Troops in, and pleaſed with the Entertainment, He, and His whole Court and Officers, had received from his Grace, returned in the Evening to His Quarters near *Landau*. The ſeventh, the Duke of *Marlborough* paid another Viſit to the King of the *Romans*, and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, with whom he had a long Conference, after which he viewed the Approaches, and, the tenth, return'd to his Camp, at *Weiſſemburg*; The next Day, Monſ. *Wachtelberg*, Envoy from the King of *Poland*, to the *Emperour*, and the Marquis *de Prie*, Envoy from the Duke of *Savoy*, waited on his Grace, with Commiſſions from their reſpective Maſters.

The D. of Marlborough *uneaſy at the Length of the Siege.*

THE Length of the Siege of *Landau* made the Duke of *Marlborough* very uneaſy at *Crone-Weiſſemburg*; His Grace being afraid, that he ſhould not have Time to execute his Deſigns, on the *Moſel*, which were no leſs important than the Taking of *Landau*. The Duke, ever watchful for the Good of the common Cauſe, had formed a Deſign to take Winter-Quarters on the *Moſel*, where *France* lay open; And he hoped,

A noble Deſign of the Duke's,

hoped, the enſuing Summer, to have penetrated into the Heart of that Kingdom; But this Project proved abortive, thro' the ill Conduct of the *Germans*, as we ſhall ſee below. It is allowed by all the Officers of the Army, that his Grace ſpared no Coſt, in procuring Intelligences; And, therefore, his Uneaſineſs encreaſed, upon Advice, that the *French* intended to ſend a Re-inforcement towards *Triers*, from the *Netherlands* and *Haguenau*; Which made him reſolve to prevent the Enemy, and to march thither, in Perſon, with Part of his Forces, and to leave the Reſt under the Command of Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, at *Crone-Weiſſemburg*. This Reſolution being taken, his Grace ſent, the thirteenth of *October*, N. S. ſome Battalions, and a Detachment of Dragoons, to take Poſſeſſion of *Homburg*, with Orders to fortify that Poſt. That Detachment was followed, by another, commanded by Colonel *Blood*, and, on the twenty-ſecond, the Reſt of the Forces, deſigned for that Expedition, marched to *Homburg*, where the Duke joined them, the four and twentieth. His Grace haſtened his March, as much as poſſible, through a mountainous Country, which is in a Manner deſert, and, on the eight and twentieth, arrived at *Hermerſkel*, within ſix Leagues of *Triers*, where three Deputies of that City waited on his Grace, and acquainted him, *that as the* French *had ſtill* 300 *Men, in the Fort of* St. Martin, *they were apprehenſive of ſome ill Uſage, if his Grace did not prevent it.* Upon this Account, the Duke marched, the nine and twentieth, before Break of Day, with all the Horſe, and four Battalions of Foot; And, about eleven o'Clock, his *Vanguard* appearing in Sight of *Triers*, the *French*

1704.

Defeated by the ill Conduct of the Germans.

The D. of Marlborough *goes on an Expedition to the* Moſel.

Secures the City of Triers.

1704. *French* abandoned the Fort, having thrown their Ammunition, and ſome Corn, into the *Moſel*. The Duke's Dragoons purſued them to the Banks of the River, and took Part of their Baggage, with ſome Priſoners. The Enemy had no ſooner paſs'd the River, than they burnt the Bridges, and, in all Probability, would have done more Miſchief, if the Duke had not come ſo ſuddenly to diſlodge them.

THE extraordinary Aſſiduity and Vigilance which the Duke of *Marlborough* ſhew'd, upon every other Occaſion, is in a particular Manner viſible, in this Expedition, wherein he readily expoſed his own Perſon to the Fatigue and Inconveniences of ſo uncouth a March, rather than entruſt a Matter of ſo great Importance, as the ſecuring proper Winter-Quarters for the Troops under his Care, to the Execution of a more inferiour Officer.

THE City of *Triers*, which the Duke of *Marlborough* had, in this Manner ſecured, is pretty large, and reckon'd the moſt ancient of *Europe*.

The Fortifications of Triers *repair'd.* HIS Grace being thus poſſeſs'd of that important Poſt, he ſummoned a great Number of Pioneers to work on the Fortifications of *Triers*; He went, the next Day, to view the Ground about *Saar*, and cauſed a Camp to be mark'd at *Conſarbruck*, on that River, for the Horſe to cover thoſe that work'd on the Fortifications of *Triers*, whither the Cavalry march'd accordingly, the firſt of *November*, N. S. The ſame Day, the Duke made the Repartition of the Winter-Quarters, to the ſeveral Generals under him, and, in the Afternoon, went towards *Traerbach*, accompanied by the Hereditary Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, and other Generals. They lay, that

Repartition of the Winter-Quarters made.

that Night, at *Fels*, the next Day, at *Nimeguen*, and came to *Bern-Caſſel*, the third of *November*, about Noon. His Grace went immediately to the Riſing Grounds, near *Traerbach*, to take a narrow View of the Place, and review'd the *Dutch*, which were lately arrived, in the Neighbourhood, from the *Maeſe*; And having given the neceſſary Directions for the Siege of *Traerbach*, the Care of which was committed to the Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, his Grace ſet out, the next Day, early, on his Return to the Camp at *Crone-Weiſſemburg*. 1704.

The D. of Marlborough *views* Traerbach.

Hrs Grace came, that Night, to *Kern*, the next Day, to *Kayſerſlauteren*, and, the ſixth, at Night, to the Camp before *Landau*, where he found the Beſiegers Maſters of the Counterſcarp, on which they had raiſed ſome Batteries; And more being perfected, the next Day, they had about ſixty Pieces of Cannon firing to make a Breach. The eighth of *November*, the Duke returned to *Weiſſemburg*, ſomewhat diſpleaſed with the Slowneſs, with which the Siege of *Landau* was carried on; And conſidering, that the *French* had ſent all their Horſe of the Houſhold, from their Camp at *Haguenau*, to put them into Winter Quarters, his Grace ordered the *Engliſh* Cavalry to march from *Crone-Weiſſemburg* towards *Holland*.

Returns to Landau.

Sends the Engliſh *Cavalry towards* Holland.

THE tenth of *November*, the Treaty of Accommodation, between the *Emperour* and the *Electreſs* of *Bavaria*, was concluded, by the King of the *Romans*, and the Deputies of Her *Electoral* Highneſs, who was to ſurrender all the Towns, in Her Poſſeſſion, to His *Imperial* Majeſty, to continue at *Munich*, with a Guard of 400 Men, and to have a yearly Penſion allowed her, out of the Revenues of that *Electorate*,

A Treaty concluded with the Electreſs of Bavaria.

1704. *torate*, for the Support of her Court and Family; And this was one of the immediate Conſequences of the ever-memorable Victory obtained by the Duke of *Marlborough*, at *Blenheim*.

The Duke of Marlb. *ends his Campaign.*

ABOUT the Middle of *November*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, being ſenſible, that the Siege of *Landau* would not laſt much longer, took his Leave of the King of the *Romans*, and the other Generals, ordered the *Engliſh* Foot to decamp, and march towards the *Rhine*, in Order to be embark'd for *Holland*; And having given the neceſſary Directions, for the Winter-Quarters of the Reſt of the Forces, under his Command, reſolved to crown his Glorious Campaign, by an important Negociation with the King of *Pruſſia*, in Favour of the Duke of *Savoy*; In Order to which, his Grace ſet out from *Weiſſemburg*, on his Journey to *Berlin*, the fifteenth of *November*.

And goes to Berlin.

THE twenty-third, the Garriſon of *Landau* beat a Parly, and Hoſtages being exchanged, the King of the *Romans* granted the Garriſon very honourable Terms; In Purſuance of which they delivered one of the Gates, the five and twentieth, and, the ſix and twentieth, marched out of the Place, to the Number of 3,400 Men, which were left out of 7,000, of which the Garriſon conſiſted, at the Beginning of the Siege. The Loſs of the Beſiegers was leſs in Proportion; For they had not above 2000 Men killed, and about twice as many wounded.

Landau *ſurrenders.*

The Duke of Marlb. *Arrival and Entertainment at* Berlin.

THE Duke of *Marlborough* arrived at *Berlin*, the twenty-ſecond of *November*, in the Evening, having been received, in all the Towns, thro' which he paſs'd, lying moſtly in the Territories of the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, the Duke

Duke of *Wolfembuttel*, the *Elector* of *Hannover*, and the King of *Pruſſia*, with extraordinary Marks of Reſpect. 1704.

His Grace, upon his coming to *Berlin*, was met without the Town, by the King's Great Chamberlain, the Field Marſhal, the Lord *Raby*, Her Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary to that Court, and ſeveral other Perſons of Diſtinction, who accompanied him to the Houſe for the Entertainment of Ambaſſadors, where his Grace, with his Retinue, was lodged, and entertained during his Stay there. His Grace had Audience, that very Evening, of the King and Queen, and was received with great Marks of Affection and Eſteem. The four and twentieth, the Prince Royal (now King of *Pruſſia*) entertained him at Dinner, where were preſent the King and Queen, with the Foreign Miniſters, and ſeveral Perſons of Quality; And, at Night, gave a Supper, and afterwards a great Ball, for his Grace's Entertainment. The five and twentieth, the King had, for the Duke's Entertainment, a Combat of Wild Beaſts, in his Amphitheatre; And, at a Supper, which, the Lord *Raby* gave his Grace, the King, with the *Margrave*, his Brother, came and ſupped with him.

All the Miniſters of this Court (which was then very ſplendid) the Foreign Miniſters reſiding there, and other Perſons of Diſtinction; who were then in that City, ſtrove, each in a particular Manner, how they ſhould beſt expreſs their Senſe of his Grace's Perſonal Merit, and of the ſignal Advantages the *Empire* had received from his Courage and Conduct. The ſix and twentieth, the Prince Royal of *Pruſſia* ſet out for *Hannover*, and the Duke

1704. of *Marlborough* left that Court, likewiſe, and proceeded towards the ſame Place, being extreamly well ſatisfied with his Reception, and the Succeſs of his Negociation. The King preſented his Grace, at his Departure, with a Hat, with a Diamond Button and Loop, and a Diamond Hat-band, valued at between twenty and thirty thouſand Crowns, and two fine Saddle Horſes, with rich Furniture, beſides other rich Preſents. His Majeſty gave, likewiſe, noble Preſents to Mr. *Cardonnel*, his Grace's Secretary, and to other Principal Perſons of his Retinue.

The Duke of Marlborough's *Negociations at the Court of* Pruſſia.

AMONG other Articles of the Negociation, in which the Duke ſucceeded, his Grace obtained, that 8000 *Pruſſians* ſhould march into *Italy*, to ſerve there, for the Relief of the Duke of *Savoy*, under the Command of Prince *Eugene*, who having been Eye-witneſs of their Behaviour, at the Battle of *Blenheim*, could not ſufficiently praiſe their Bravery and Reſolution, and was the more deſirous of having them in his Army; and with this Re-inforcement, and other Aſſiſtances procured him by the Duke of *Marlborough*, his Highneſs ſaved *Italy* from the Ravages of the *French*, and relieved the Duke of *Savoy*, who was beſieged in *Turin*. I muſt not here omit taking Notice of the Expedition, with which his Grace always managed whatever he undertook; of which we have a memorable Inſtance now before us; for, notwithſtanding all the Diverſions he was obliged to be Partaker of, yet he had diſpatch'd his Buſineſs in leſs than four Days Time. And he not only ſucceeded in theſe Negociations, by which he kept the Duke of *Savoy* firm to the Alliance; but alſo laid

laid down ſuch Schemes; at the Court of *Berlin*, 1705.
they ſuſpended their Diſputes with the *Dutch*, about the Eſtate of the late King *William*; for which wiſe Conduct, his Grace had the unanimous Acknowledgment of the whole Confederacy, *That he had done the greateſt Services that could be to the Common Cauſe, in that Juncture.*

THE Prince Royal of *Pruſſia*, and the Duke of *Marlborough*, arrived at *Hannover*, the firſt of *December*; where his Grace was received with all imaginable Demonſtrations of Reſpect and Kindneſs, by that *Elector* (His late Majeſty King *George* I.) the Princeſs *Sophia*, and all the Reſt of that Court, and always eat with their *Electoral* Highneſſes. The fourth, the Prince Royal of *Pruſſia* left *Hannover*, and continued his Journey to *Holland*. The Duke of *Marlborough*, who intended to have ſet forward, at the ſame Time, but was prevailed upon, by the *Elector*, to ſtay a Day longer, took his Audience of Leave that Night, and, the next Morning, begun his Journy towards *Holland*. *He arrives at* Hannover;

THE ninth, his Grace arrived at *Naerden*, where he was met by one of the Secretaries of the City of *Amſterdam*, who had been ſent by the Magiſtrates, with two Yachts, to invite and attend him thither. The next Morning, his Grace, after he had view'd the Fortifications and Magazines of *Naerden*, proceeded, by Water, to *Amſterdam*. He arriv'd there about Noon, and was received at the Limits of that City, by the *Burgomaſter Witſen*, and the *Penſionary*, who complimented his Grace, in the Name of the whole Magiſtracy, congratulating his Return from his Glorious Campaign, *At* Amſterdam;

1704. and his Victories at *Schellenberg* and *Hochſtadt*. The twelfth, in the Morning, his Grace, having receiv'd all poſſible Marks of Honour at *Amſterdam*, ſet out for the *Hague*, being ſaluted with a triple Diſcharge of all the Cannon, as he had been, at his Arrival, and the like Acclamations of Joy from the People.

And at the Hague.

The Siege of Traerbach. In the mean Time, the Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel* was carrying on the Siege of *Traerbach*, where the *Allies* found as great Reſiſtance, as they had met with, at *Landau*, in Proportion to the Bigneſs of the Place, and the Number of the Garriſon. The Caſtle of *Traerbach*, a very ſtrong Fortreſs, on the *Moſel*, was inveſted, by Orders of the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Beginning of *November*, N. S. and the Batteries began to play, the eighteenth of that Month. The Badneſs of the Weather, and the Loſs of Baron *de Trogne*, the chief Engineer of the *States*, who was ſhot by the Prince of *Heſſe*'s Side, giving the neceſſary Orders, were great Diſcouragements to his Highneſs, to purſue the Siege of *Traerbach*; Nevertheleſs, that Prince cauſed the Attacks to be carried on with Vigour, and, at Length, obliged the Garriſon to ſurrender, the twentieth of *December*, N. S. tho' on honourable Conditions. Beſides the Governour, who died of his Wounds, the *French* loſt 350 Men, out of 600 Men, which was the Number of the Garriſon, before the Siege. As for the *Allies*, they had about 1,000 Men kill'd or wounded.

Traerbach *ſurrendered.*

A Deſign on Old Briſac *miſcarries.* During the Sieges of *Landau* and *Traerbach*, Prince *Eugene* form'd a Project, about the Beginning of *November*, to ſeize *Old Briſac*. This Deſign was exceedingly well laid; But the Project miſcarried, when it was upon the very

very Point of being executed, by the Impatience of a Lieutenant-Colonel. This Attempt, if it had not been fruſtrated, was to have been followed immediately by another, on *New Briſac*, the Preparations for which were likewiſe made: But the former miſcarrying, the latter fell of Courſe. 1704.

THE Campaign in *Flanders* produced this Year very little. General *d'Auverquerque* bombarded *Namur*, in Order to deſtroy the Enemy's Magazines there; And Baron *Spar*, on the Side of *Proper Flanders*, bombarded *Bruges*, and took the Fort *Iſabella* near *Sluys*. Which was all that happen'd worthy our Note. *Affairs of Flanders.*

IN *Italy*, the Duke of *Savoy* had a melancholly Campaign, loſing Place after Place; But he ſupported his Affairs, with great Conduct; And ſhewed a Firmneſs, in his Misfortunes, beyond what could have been imagined. *Verceil* and *Yvrea* gave the Duke of *Vendoſme* the Trouble of tedious Sieges; They ſtood their Ground, as long as poſſible; But the Duke of *Savoy*'s Army was not ſtrong enough to raiſe theſe Sieges; So both Places, at Length fell. The *French* demoliſhed the Fortifications of both theſe Places; And, after they had ſucceeded ſo far, ſat down before *Verrue*, to the End of *October*; Which they did not take till after a Siege of five Months. *Affairs of Italy.*

As for the Affairs of *Spain* and *Portugal*, as they have almoſt always a Connexion with Naval Affairs, and they are treated largely of, in *Lediard*'s *Naval Hiſtory of England*, I ſhall paſs them by here, and return to the Duke of *Marlborough*.

WE left his Grace, the twelfth of *December*, juſt arrived at the *Hague*; He was immediately

1704. ately complimented by the Deputies of the *States General*, at his Palace, where they gave him the Thanks of that Illuſtrious Aſſembly for his Conduct, as well in the Cabinet as in the Camp, and had, likewiſe, a long Conference with him. All the Foreign Miniſters, and other Perſons of Diſtinction, likewiſe, waited on the Duke, and congratulated his ſafe Return, after the Labours and Fatigues of his glorious Campaign; And many private Perſons made Illuminations, and other Rejoicings on that Occaſion. His Grace, having ſtay'd a few Days at the *Hague*, to concert Meaſures with the Deputies of the *States*, for the Operations of the next Campaign; embark'd, in the *Maeſe*, the twenty-ſecond of *December*, N. S. at Night, on Board one of Her Majeſty's Yachts, under Convoy of ſeveral Ships of War; Bringing over with him, the Marſhal *de Tallard*, with ſix and twenty other *French* Priſoners, and the Standards and Colours taken at *Blenheim*, as Trophies of his Grace's Victory. The fourteenth of *December*, O. S. the Yachts, and Men of War, entered the River of *Thames*, and the Duke went privately, the ſame Afternoon, to *St. James*'s *Houſe*, where he was received with all the Marks of Grace and Favour, which could be ſhewn to the moſt deſerving Subject, by Her Majeſty, and his Royal Highneſs, Prince *George* of *Denmark*.

The Duke of Marlb. *concerts at the* Hague *the Operations of the enſuing Campaign.*

Returns to England *with his chief Priſoners, and the Trophies of his Victory.*

Is graciouſly received by the Queen, and Prince.

THE next Day, the Duke being come to the *Houſe of Peers*, the Lord Keeper, Sir *Nathan Wright*, addreſs'd his Grace, by Order of that moſt Honourable *Houſe*, with the following Compliment.

1704.

My Lord Duke of MARLBOROUGH,

The Lord Keeper's Compliment to the Duke.

"THE happy Succeſs that hath attended Her Majeſty's Armies under your Grace's Command, in *Germany*, the laſt Campaign, is ſo truly Great, ſo truly Glorious, in all it's Circumſtances, that few Inſtances, in the Hiſtory of former Ages, can equal, much leſs excel the Luſtre of it.

"YOUR Grace has not overthrown young unſkilful Generals, raw and undiſciplin'd Troops; But your Grace has conquer'd the *French* and *Bavarian* Armies; Armies that were fully inſtructed in all the Arts of War; Select Veteran Troops, fluſh'd with former Victories, and commanded by Generals of great Experience and Bravery.

"THE Glorious Victories your Grace has obtained at *Schellenberg* and *Hochſtadt*, are very Great, very Illuſtrious, in themſelves; But they are greater ſtill in their Conſequences, to Her Majeſty and Her Allies.

"THE *Emperour* is thereby reliev'd; The *Empire* itſelf freed from a very dangerous Enemy, in the very Bowels of it; The Exorbitant Power of *France* is check'd, and, I hope, a happy Step made towards reducing of that Monarch, within His due Bounds, and ſecuring the Liberties of *Europe*.

"THE Honour of theſe *Glorious Victories*, great as they are; (under the immediate Bleſſing of ALMIGHTY GOD) is chiefly, if not alone, owing to your Grace's Conduct and Valour.

"THIS is the unanimous Voice of *England*, and all Her Majeſty's *Allies*.

1704.

My Lord,

" THIS *moſt Honourable Houſe* is highly " ſenſible of the great and ſignal Ser- " vices your Grace has done her Majeſty, this " Campaign, and of the Immortal Honour " you have done the *Engliſh Nation*; And have " commanded me to give you Their Thanks " for the ſame.

" AND I do accordingly give your Grace " the Thanks of *this Houſe*, for the great Ho- " nour your Grace has done the Nation, and " for the great and ſignal Services you have " done Her Majeſty, and this Kingdom, the " laſt Campaign.

The Duke of *Marlborough*'s Reply was:

My Lords,

" I AM extreamly ſenſible of the great Ho- " nour Your Lordſhips are pleaſed to do " me; I muſt beg, on this Occaſion, to do " Right to all the Officers and Soldiers I had " the Honour of having under my Command; " Next to the Bleſſing of GOD, the good Suc- " ceſs of this Campaign is owing to their ex- " traordinary Courage.

" I AM very ſure, it will be a great Satiſ- " faction, as well as Encouragement to the " whole Army, to find their Services ſo favour- " ably accepted.

The Duke receives the Thanks of the Houſe of Commons.

" THE ſame Day, a Committee of the " *Houſe of Commons* having waited upon his " Grace, to give him the Thanks of the " *Houſe*, as well for the eminent Services he " had performed to Her Majeſty, and the

Kingdom,

" Kingdom, in the Glorious Victories which 1704.
" I have been obtained under his Command, as
" for his prudent Negociations with ſeveral
" Princes and States; and to congratulate his
" Arrival, *It is a great Satisfaction to me,* *The Duke's Anſwer to them.*
" ſaid the Duke to Them, *to find that my*
" *faithful Endeavours, in diſcharging my Duty*
" *to the Queen, and to the Publick, are ſo fa-*
" *vourably accepted. I beg Leave to take this*
" *Opportunity of doing Juſtice to a great Body*
" *of Officers and Soldiers, who accompanied me*
" *in this Expedition, and all behaved them-*
" *ſelves with the greateſt Bravery imaginable:*
" *And, I am ſure, this Honour done us by the*
" Houſe of Commons, *in taking ſo much No-*
" *tice of it, will give a general Satisfaction and*
" *Encouragement to the whole Army.*

ON the ſixteenth of *December*, the Marſhal *de Tallard*, with the Reſt of the *French* Priſoners, were landed at *Blackwall*; where they were magnificently entertained at Dinner by Mr. *Johnſon*; and then, in the Afternoon, they ſet out, in a great many Coaches, for *Barnet*, in their Way to *Nottingam* and *Litchfield*, where Her Majeſty thought fit they ſhould reſide, to wit, at *Nottingham*, the Marſhal *de Tallard*, Marquis *de Monperroux*, General of Horſe, Comte *de Blanzac*, Lieutenant-General, Marquis *de Hautefeuille*, General of Dragoons, Marquis *de Valſeme*, Marquis *de Seppeville*, Marquis *de Silly*, Chevalier *de Croiſſy*, Marquis *de Valliere*, Majors-General, Monſ. *de St. Second*, Brigadier, Marquis *de Vaſſey*, Colonel of Dragoons. At *Litchfield*, the Marquis *de Marivaux*, Lieutenant-General, Monſ. *de la Meſſeliere*, Monſ. *Soly*, Monſ. *d'Amigni*, Brigadiers, Monſ. *The* French *Priſoners are ſent to* Nottingham *and* Litchfield.

1704. Monſ. *de St. Maurice*, Comte *de Lionne*, Marquis *de Laſſey*, Baron *d'Elſt*, Monſ. *de Beaumcourt*, Monſ. *de Saulexbeaus*, Monſ. *de Montenay*, Monſ. *de Gallart*, Monſ. *de Creſſy*, Colonels of Foot, Monſ. *de Ligondais*, Baron *de Heyder*, Colonels of Horſe, Monſ. *de Prie*, Monſ. *d'Aurival*, Colonels of Dragoons.

THEY were accompany'd by General *Churchill*, and attended by a Detachment of the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Royal Regiment of Horſe, who were alſo order'd to guard them, at large, at *Nottingham* and *Litchfield*.

CHAP. IX.

TRANSACTIONS *in* 1705, *'till the attacking the* French *Lines*.

1705. THE Beginning of this Year, the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter* were Eye-witneſſes of a Triumphant Memorial of the Battle and Victory of *Hochſtadt*. Her Majeſty having been pleaſed to order, that the Standards and Colours, taken in that famous Battle, which were lately brought from beyond Sea, and lodged in the *Tower*, ſhould be put up in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, a Detachment of Her Majeſty's Horſe-Guards, and Horſe-Grenadiers, and a Battalion drawn out of both Regiments of the Foot-Guards, marched, the third of *January*, early in the Morning, to the *Tower*, to receive them, at which Time the great Guns were fired. From thence, they proceeded, in the following Manner: Firſt the Troop of Horſe-Grenadiers, then the Detachment of the three

The Standards and Colours taken at Blenheim, *put up in* Weſtminſter-Hall.

three Troops of Her Majeſty's Horſe-Guards, four and thirty of the Gentlemen in the Center carrying each a Standard taken from the Enemy; the Battalions of Foot-Guards cloſed the March; the Pike-men, to the Number of 128, who had left their Pikes at the *Tower*, carrying each one of the Enemy's Colours advanced. In this Manner, they march'd thro' the *City*, the *Strand*, and the *Pall-Mall*, and paſs'd before Her Majeſty's Palace at St. *James*'s; then thro' St. *James*'s Mews, into the *Park*, where Her Majeſty was pleaſed to ſee them paſs by from the Lord *Fitzharding*'s Lodgings, forty Guns, in the *Park*, being twice fired, at the ſame Time: Thence they proceeded thro' the *Horſe Guards*, *King-ſtreet*, and the *New Palace-Yard*, to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where the ſaid Standards and Colours were put up, to remain there as Trophies of that Signal Victory. 1705.

THE ſixth of the ſame Month, the Duke of *Marlborough* having been invited by the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, to dine with them, in the City, his Grace went thither about Noon, accompanied by the Lord Treaſurer, the Prince of *Heſſe*, and the Duke of *Sommerſet*, in one of her Majeſty's Coaches, and was follow'd by a great Train of other Coaches, in which were the Foreign Miniſters, with ſeveral Perſons of Quality and the Generals, and other Officers of the Army, who were all ſplendidly entertained at *Goldſmiths-Hall*. *The Duke of* Marlborough *entertain'd by the* City.

THE eleventh of the ſame Month, being the Day appointed by the *Commons*, for taking into Conſideration the great Services that had been performed by the Duke of *Marlborough*, the laſt Summer, and to conſider of ſome Means

1705. Means to perpetuate the Memory of them; they came to this unanimous Resolution,

Vote of the Commons *in Favour of the Duke of* Marlb.

"That an humble Addreſs be preſented to Her "Majeſty, expreſſing the Senſe this Houſe "has of the Glorious Victories obtained by "the Forces of Her Majeſty, and Her Al- "lies, under the Command of his Grace the "Duke of *Marlborough*; and humbly deſiring "Her Majeſty, That ſhe would be graciouſ- "ly pleaſed, to conſider of ſome proper "Means to perpetuate the Memory of the "great Services performed by the ſaid Duke.

WHICH Addreſs being preſented to Her Majeſty, by the whole Houſe, Her Majeſty was pleaſed to give this Gracious Anſwer:

GENTLEMEN,

I am very well pleaſed with your Addreſs; and I will take it into Conſideration, as you deſire, and ſend you my Thoughts upon it, in a little Time.

THE ſeventeenth, Mr. Chancellour of the Exchequer acquainted the Houſe; That he had a Meſſage ſigned by Her Majeſty; and he delivered it to Mr. Speaker, who read the ſame to the Houſe, and was as follows:

ANNE R.

Her Majeſty's Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons *on that Account.*

HER *Majeſty, having taken into Her Conſideration the Addreſs of this* Houſe, *relating to the great Services performed by the Duke of* Marlborough, *does incline to grant the Intereſt of the Crown, in the Honour and Manor of* Woodſtock, *and Hundred of* Wootton, *to him and his Heirs; and deſires the Aſſiſtance of this* Houſe, *upon this extraordinary Occaſion.*

THE

The Lieutenancy and Rangerſhips of the Parks, with the Rents and Profits of the Manor and Hundreds, being granted for two Lives, her Majeſty thinks it proper that Incumbrance ſhould be cleared. 1705.

UPON which, the *Houſe* reſolved, that a Bill be brought in, to enable Her Majeſty to grant the Honour and Manor of *Woodſtock*, and Hundred of *Wootton*, to the Duke of *Marlborough* and his Heirs. *Reſolutions thereupon.*

AND it was farther reſolved, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to Her Majeſty, That She would be graciouſly pleaſed to advance the Mony for clearing the preſent Incumbrance upon the Lieutenancy and Rangerſhip of the Parks, Rents and Profits of the Honour and Manor of *Woodſtock*, and Hundred of *Woottton*, in Order to the preſent Settlement thereof, upon the Duke of *Marlborough* and his Heirs.

THE ſaid Bill being paſſed *Both Houſes*, and having received the Sanction of the Royal Aſſent, on the fourteenth of *March*, I ſhall ſubjoin the Preamble of that Act, as it ſhews the Senſe the *Parliament* had of the Great Services performed by the Duke. *An Act of* Parliament *paſs'd in his Grace's Favour.*

The Preamble to the Act for the better enabling Her Majeſty, to grant the Honour and Manor of Woodſtock, *with the Hundred of* Wootton, *to the Duke of* Marlborough.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

'WHEREAS the eminent and unparallel'd Services, perform'd to Your 'Majeſty, and the Crown of *England*, by "the *Preamble to that Act.*

1705. " the moſt noble *John* Duke of *Marlborough*,
" are well known, not only to Your Majeſty,
" and all Your Subjects, but to all *Europe*,
" who will always remember, That the *Alli-*
" *ances* which Your Majeſty's Royal Brother
" King *William the third*, of Glorious Memory,
" had, in a little Time before his Death, Con-
" tracted, by the Miniſtry of the ſaid Duke of
" *Marlborough*, as His Majeſty's Ambaſſador
" Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, to the
" *States General* of the *United Provinces*, for
" preſerving the Liberties of *Europe*, againſt
" the Ambition of *France*, were, immediately
" after Your Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the
" Throne, by the ſaid Duke, there employ'd
" by Your Majeſty, in the ſame Character,
" Confirm'd and Improv'd, and others were
" contracted, whereby the Confederacy, which
" had been diſſolved, at the End of the laſt
" War, was re-united, in a firmer and ſtricter
" League: And that, in the firſt Year of Your
" Majeſty's Reign, the ſaid Duke of *Marlbo-*
" *rough* did ſo well execute the Commiſſion and
" Orders, which he received from Your Ma-
" jeſty, as Captain-General and Commander in
" Chief of Your Majeſty's Forces, That he
" not only ſecured and extended the Frontiers
" of *Holland*, by taking the Towns and For-
" treſſes of *Venlo*, *Ruremond*, *Stevenſwaert* and
" *Liege*; But ſoon obliged the Enemy (who
" had been at the Gates of *Nimeguen*) to ſeek
" Shelter behind their Lines. And the next
" Campaign, by taking *Bon*, *Huy* and *Lim-*
" *burg*, added all the Country, between the
" *Rhine* and the *Maeſe*, to the Conqueſts of
" the preceding Year. And that, in the Me-
" morable Year 1704, when Your Majeſty

" was

" was generouſly pleaſed to take the Reſolution 1705.
" of reſcuing the *Empire* from that immediate
" Ruin, to which, by the Defection of the E-
" lector of *Bavaria*, it was expoſed, the Mea-
" ſures, which, by Your Majeſty's Wiſdom
" and Goodneſs, had been deviſed and concert-
" ed, were purſued by the ſaid Duke, with the
" utmoſt Diligence, Secrecy and good Conduct,
" in leading the Forces of Your Majeſty, and
" Your *Allies*, by a long and difficult March,
" to the Banks of the *Danube*, where the ſaid
" Duke, immediately upon his Arrival, did
" attack and force the *Bavarians* (aſſiſted by
" the *French*) in their ſtrong Intrenchments at
" *Schellenberg*, paſſed the *Danube*, diſtreſſed the
" Country of *Bavaria*, and a ſecond Time
" fought the Enemies, who had been reinforc'd
" by a Royal Army of the *French* King's beſt
" Troops, commanded by a Marſhal of *France*;
" And, on the ſecond Day of *Auguſt*, 1704, af-
" ter a bloody Battle, at or near *Blenheim* (altho'
" the Enemies had the Advantage of Number
" and Situation) did gain as Abſolute and Glori-
" ous a Victory, as is recorded in the Hiſtory of
" any Age; By which, *Bavaria* being entirely
" reduced, *Ratiſbon*, *Augsburg*, *Ulm*, *Memmin-*
" *gen*, and other *Imperial* Towns being reco-
" ver'd, the Liberty of the Diet, and the Peace
" of the *Empire* was reſtored, and *Landau*,
" *Treves*, and *Traerbach* being taken, the War
" is carried into the Dominions of *France*.
" And for as much as the happy Atchieve-
" ments of the ſaid Duke, having apparently
" tended, not only to the Honour and Safety
" of Your Majeſty, and Your Subjects, and of
" their Poſterity, but alſo towards the future
" Tranquility of *Europe*; Your Majeſty's moſt
" Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the *Commons* of
" *England*

1705. " *England*, in *Parliament* aſſembled, thought
" themſelves obliged, in an humble Addreſs
" to Your Majeſty, not only to expreſs their
" great Senſe of the ſaid glorious Victories,
" but alſo humbly to deſire Your Majeſty,
" that You would be graciouſly pleaſed to con-
" ſider of ſome proper Means, to perpetuate
" the Memory of ſuch ſignal Services: And
" Your Majeſty having been thereupon pleaſed
" to ſignify Your Intentions, to grant the In-
" tereſt of the Crown, in the Honour and
" Manor of *Woodſtock*, and the Hundred of
" *Wootton*, to the ſaid Duke and his Heirs;
" Your Majeſty's ſaid Dutiful and Loyal Sub-
" jects, the *Commons* of *England*, in *Parliament*
" aſſembled, duly conſidering the good and
" prudent Proviſions made by Your Majeſty,
" by an *Act of Parliament*, in the firſt Year of
" Your Reign, for preſerving the Inheritance
" of ſeveral Revenues of the Crown, and be-
" lieving, that the Settlement of the ſaid Ho-
" nour, Manor and Hundred, on the ſaid
" Duke, and his Heirs, can make no Prece-
" dent for Caſes, where there is, or ſhall be
" leſs Merit, do moſt Humbly, Chearfully and
" Unanimouſly, beſeech Your Majeſty, That
" it may be Enacted, *&c.*

BY this Act, the Honour and Manor of *Woodſtock*, with the Hundred of *Wootton*; were veſted in his Grace, and his Heirs; *Rendering to the Queen, Her Heirs, and Succeſſors, on the ſecond Day of* Auguſt, *in every Year, for ever, at the Caſtle of* Windſor, *one Standard, or Colours, with three Flower de Luces painted thereon, for all Manner of Rent, Services, &c.*

ABOUT this Time Her Majeſty likewiſe appointed his Grace Colonel of Her firſt Regiment of Foot-Guards.

1705.

Scheme and Preparations for the Campaign.

I COME now to the Opening of the Campaign. The Duke of *Marlborough*, having, the preceding Summer, delivered the *Empire*, by the ever-famous Victory of *Blenheim*, had a long Time conſidered how to improve that Succeſs, this Campaign; And having communicated his ſeveral Projects to the Cabinet Council, none ſeemed ſo judiciouſly laid, as the making an Impreſſion upon the Frontiers of *France*: The Deſign, therefore, was, that the *Moſel* ſhould be the Scene of Action, and Care had been taken to lay up Magazines of all Sorts, in *Triers*, for that Purpoſe. To carry on this Deſign, two Things were abſolutely neceſſary; Firſt, the Concurrence of the *Cautious Dutch*, who ſeemed unwilling to let their Troops go ſo far from their Frontiers, leſt they ſhould loſe, in one Campaign, the Barrier they had been forming, in two or three; And, ſecondly, the Quickning the Slowneſs of the *Germans*, without whoſe joint Aſſiſtance, the Duke could not act there, with Probability of Succeſs. The *States*, however, conſented, that he ſhould carry the greateſt Part of their Army to the *Moſel*, and reſolved to ly on the Defenſive upon their own Frontiers; For they reckoned, that how ſtrong ſoever the *Elector* of *Bavaria*'s Army was, at that Time; Yet when *France* ſhould be preſs'd, with ſo great a Force, as they reckon'd would be on the *Moſel*, he would be ordered to ſend ſuch Detachments thither, that his Army would be quickly diminiſhed, and ſo would not have the ſuperiour Strength long.

The Duke of Marlborough goes to Holland

THIS being the Duke's Scheme, in Order to put it in Execution, his Grace ſet out, the ſix and twentieth of *March*, from *St. James*'s, towards *Harwich*; Where he embarked, the thirtieth,

1705. on board one of Her Majeſty's Yachts, and ſet Sail for *Holland*, together with ſeveral other Yachts and Tranſport-Ships, under Convoy of a Squadron of Men of War, commanded by the Marquis of *Caermarthen*, Vice-Admiral of the *Red*. They were put back, the next Day, by contrary Winds; But, as they were favourable, the firſt of *April*, in the Morning, his Grace then put to Sea again, and landed ſafely in *Holland*, the next Day in the Afternoon.

Concerts Meaſures with the Dutch.

UPON the Duke's Arrival at the *Hague*, his Grace had ſeveral Conferences with the *Penſionary*, and other Members of the Aſſembly of the *States-General*, in which he laid before them the great Advantages, that would accrue to the whole *Confederacy*, from the vigorous Proſecution of his Deſign; Which would deprive *France* of the Means, either of enlarging her Conqueſts, in *Piedmont*, or of Protecting *Spain*; By putting her upon the Neceſſity of Defending herſelf at home.

Grounds of of the Duke's Deſign.

THE Duke had, however, another Motive, which concurr'd to put him upon theſe Meaſures: The Marſhal *de Villars* lately made a Duke, was ſaid to be the Right Hand, and almoſt ſole Dependance of *Lewis* XIV. his Grace, therefore, prudently judged, that to triumph over, and ruin the Reputation of this renowned General, by a ſignal Defeat, would be a Service to the Common Cauſe, preferable to all others. The Conſequence of ſuch a Defeat would have been the Submiſſion of the three Biſhopricks, after which nothing could have prevented his making himſelf Maſter of *Thionville*, and even of *Luxemburg* itſelf.

THE *Dutch* (as I have ſaid above) were ſoon made ſenſible of the Plauſibleneſs of the Duke's

Project. But the greateſt Difficulty remained behind. In Order to remove it, his Grace reſolved to have a Conference with Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, and ſent Brigadier-General *Cadogan* to his Highneſs, to manage an Interview with him. 1705.

THE Duke of *Marlborough* having concerted, with the Deputies of the *States*, and the *Dutch* Generals, the neceſſary Meaſures for Opening the Campaign, ſet out from the *Hague*, the fourth of *May*, N. S. And, the eighth, in the Afternoon, his Grace arrived at *Maeſtricht*, where Monſ. *d'Auverquerque* was come ſome Days before. He continued there, 'till all the Troops, which were to compoſe the Army, on that Side, and the *Engliſh* Forces, that were to march towards the *Moſel*, were come up. *The D. of* Marlborough's *Motions.*

ON the twelfth, Brigadier *Cadogan*, whom his Grace had diſpatched from the *Hague*, to confer with Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, arrived at *Maeſtricht*, with Advice, that he had concerted an Interview, between the Prince and his Grace, at *Creutznach*, the twentieth of the ſame Month. The fourteenth, the Duke reviewed the *Engliſh* Troops encamped near *Viſet*. The fifteenth, theſe Troops paſs'd the *Maeſe*, and continued their March towards the *Moſel*, under the Command of General *Churchill*; And his Grace ſet out from *Maeſtricht*, towards *Coblentz*: The Duke's Deſign being, that the Campaign, on that Side, ſhould be opened with the Siege of *Saar-Louis*, or ſome other of the Enemy's Frontier-Towns.

HIS Grace arrived at *Coblentz*, the ſeventeenth; And, on the eighteenth, Baron *Forſtner*, Counſellour to Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, came to *Coblentz*, from *Raſtadt*, being ſent expreſs to *Prince* Lewis *of* Baden *excuſes his meeting and concurring with the Duke.*

1705. the Duke of *Marlborough*, to acquaint him, that his Highneſs was very much indiſpoſed, and could not meet his Grace at *Creutznach*, as he deſign'd; He, likewiſe, ſeem'd, by this Meſſage, to decline concurring with the Duke, in the Deſigns he had laid, excuſing himſelf, not only on his Want of Health, but becauſe the Force he had about him was not conſiderable, nor was that, which he expected, like to come to him ſo ſoon as might be wiſh'd for.

THE Duke of *Marlborough*, who had ſet his Heart on Opening the Campaign in thoſe Parts, and had great Hopes of Succeſs, would not let this prevent him; So he reſolved to carry the Matter as far as he could; And as the Prince's ill State of Health ſeemed only to be a Pretence, His Grace reſolved to go and confer with him at *Raſtadt*.

The Duke goes to confer with Prince Lewis.

THE Duke began his Journey from *Coblentz*, the nineteenth, and came, that Night to *Schlangenbade*, where he found the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe*, with his whole Court, by whom he was very honourably received. His Grace ſet out from thence, early the next Morning; Arrived at *Heidelberg*, in the Afternoon, and, the next Day, at *Raſtadt*. He was received by Prince *Lewis*, with all outward Demonſtrations of Friendſhip and Eſteem: But it was obſerved by ſeveral in the Duke's Retinue, that the Prince was not ſo much indiſpoſed, as not to have been able to meet his Grace at *Creutznach*. The two Generals had a private Conference together, in which it was reſolved, "to leave a "ſufficient Number of *Germans*, for the Se- "curity of the Lines of *Lauterburg* and *Stol-* "*hoffen*, under the Command of General "*Thungen*, and that Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* ſhould

Reſult of their Conference.

" ſhould march with a great Detachment to- 1705.
" wards the *Saar*, to act in Concert with the
" Duke.

THE twenty-ſecond, his Grace went to view the Lines of *Biehl* and *Stolhoffen*, and came to *Manheim*, the next Day, in his Way to *Triers*, where he arrived, the ſix and twentieth. The Duke having aſſembled all the Troops in the Neighbourhood of that Place, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Forces, which were encamp'd near *Igel*, on the other Side the *Moſel*, paſs'd that River, the third of *June*, over ſeveral Bridges; And, from thence, march'd to thoſe prepar'd for them over the *Saar*, which River they, likewiſe, paſs'd, at *Conſaarbruck*. The *Heſſians*, *Danes* and *Lunenburghers* paſs'd the *Saar*, at the ſame Time; And ſo all the Troops joined.

Motions of the Confederate *Army thereupon.*

AFTER a long March of near eight Hours, they came, with their *Right*, within a Quarter of a League of *Sirk*. It being too late to encamp, the Troops lay on their Arms all Night. The next Morning, they encamp'd at *Elft*, the *Right* being at *Perle*, near *Sirk*, on the *Moſel*, and the *Left* at *Hollandorp*; Within Sight of the Enemy's Army. Upon the Appearance of the *Allies*, the Day before, the Enemy immediately prepar'd for a Retreat, which they now put in Execution, with great Precipitation, and march'd from *Sirk* towards *Coningſmacheren*, poſſeſſing themſelves of a very advantageous Camp, which they made yet ſtronger, by caſting up Intrenchments, and felling down Trees: So that there was no Poſſibility of attacking them, in that Poſt, with the leaſt Probability of Succeſs.

The Duke encamps at Elft, *near the Enemy.*

Who retreat, and intrench themſelves.

THIS, indeed, was no Diſappointment to the Duke; For he did not deſign to attack them; And his advancing ſo far, was only to cover

The Duke's real Deſign.

1705. the intended Siege of *Saar-Louis*. The Taking of that Place was of ſo great Importance, that the Succeſs of the whole Campaign, on that Side, depended upon it; And Time being very precious, the Duke diſpatch'd frequent Expreſſes, to quicken the March, not only of the *Imperialiſts*, but of the *Wirtemberghers*, *Pruſſians* and *Palatines*, and to exhort the Princes, who had promiſed to furniſh Artillery, Horſes and Waggons, to ſend them with all poſſible Expedition.

Prince Lewis *fails to join the Duke.*

His Exhortations, tho' back'd by thoſe of the *States General*, were, however, to little Purpoſe. It is true, ſome *Imperial* Troops were detach'd from *Lauterburg*, for the *Moſel*; But they kept ſo truly to their own uſual Pace, and march'd ſo ſlowly, that inſtead of being on the *Saar*, the ninth or tenth of *June*, N. S. as they ſhould have been, they were not arrived, the twentieth, nor were there either Horſes or Artillery provided. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, who had promiſed to come in Perſon, came, indeed, as far as *Creutznach*, and then falling

Prince Lewis *feigns Sickneſs.*

ſick, took an Opportunity to go to the Wells of *Schwalbach*, and the Bath at *Schlangenbade*, leaving thoſe Forces under the Command of the Count *de Frieze*. So here was the former Excuſe of Want of Health and Force repeated;

Suſpicions of Treachery.

Not without ſhrewd Suſpicions of Treachery; For it appeared plainly, that the *French* knew what he intended to do, and their Management ſhew'd they depended on it; Becauſe they ordered no Detachments to augment Monſ. *de Villars*'s Army. Be this as it will, it is certain *the Duke was ill us'd, and that this ill Uſage was the Occaſion of his Deſign proving abortive.*

THE

THE Duke of *Wirtemberg* made a little more Noise with 4,000 Men, in the Pay of the *States*; And the *Pruſſians* arrived before the Grand Army was obliged to decamp. 1705.

IN the mean Time, the Forces of the *States General*, being very much weaken'd by the Detachments ſent to the *Moſel*, it was thought fit, that their Army, under Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*, conſiſting only of thirty Battalions, and ſeventy two Squadrons, ſhould ſtand on the Defenſive. For that End, they encamp'd near *Maeſtricht*, on the Hill of *St. Peter*, where they entrench'd themſelves, not doubting but that the *Elector* of *Bavaria*, and the Duke of *Villeroy*, who commanded the *French* and *Spaniſh* Army, in the *Netherlands*, would ſend a ſtrong Detachment towards the *Moſel*. They were, however, deceived in their Expectations; And this encreas'd the Suſpicions of Prince *Lewis*'s Conduct: For the Enemy being informed how Things paſs'd, on the *Moſel*, reſolved to take the Advantage of their Superiority on the *Maeſe*. They came out of their Lines, the twenty-firſt of *May*, and marched to *Val Nôtre Dame*, near *Huy*, which Place they inveſted, the eight and twentieth. *Motions of the Army under Monſ.* d'Auverquerque. Huy *inveſted by the Enemy*;

THE thirtieth, the Marſhal *de Villeroy*, and the Count *d'Artagnan*, having, ſeveral Times, ſummoned the Town, which is of no Defence, it was thought fit to prevent the Ruin of the Inhabitants, and to come to ſuch an Agreement about it, as was made when the Duke of *Marlborough* came before it. And the Garriſon retired into the Caſtle.

THE next Day, the Enemy ſtormed Fort *St. Joſeph* three Times; But were repuls'd, with a very great Loſs. The third of *June*, after a vigorous Attack and Reſiſtance, they *And the Caſtle taken.*

1705. made themſelves Maſters of Fort *Picard*, and the *Red* Fort, and then batter'd the Caſtle and Fort *St. Joſeph*. The neceſſary Preparations for a General Aſſault being made, and the Breaches being ſo wide, that it was thought impoſſible to defend the Place any longer, the Governour beat a Parly, the tenth; But could obtain no other Conditions, than that the Garriſon ſhould march out of the Breach, with their Arms, and ſhould afterwards lay them down, and ſurrender themſelves Priſoners of War; Which was put in Execution the next Day. The thirteenth, that Part of the Garriſon, which was in the Forts *St. Joſeph*, and *la Saar*, march'd out, in like Manner, and they were all carried to *Namur*. Two Days after, the *French* Army march'd from *Huy* to *Horrion*, and, the next Day, drew nearer to *Liege*, and inveſted the Citadel of that Place.

The Citadel of Liege *inveſted by the Enemy.*

THE News of the Taking of *Huy* having reach'd the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Army, the Deputies of the *States* repreſented to his Grace; " That it was impoſſible to ſubſiſt any longer " in his Camp; That the *Germans* having, by " their Delays, fruſtrated the Deſign of Be- " ſieging *Saar-Louis*, and defeated all the other " Projects on the *Moſel*, it was to no Purpoſe " to continue any longer in thoſe Parts, when " their Forces might be employed, in the *Ne- " therlands*, in ſtopping the Progreſs of their " Enemies ". The Duke was as ſenſible of that melancholy Truth, as the Deputies themſelves could be. But being willing to ſtay 'till the laſt Extremity, " That the *Imperialiſts* " might have no Manner of Excuſe for Diſ- " appointing him ", he did not decamp from *Elſt*, his Head-Quarters, 'till the ſeventeenth

Repreſentation of the Deputies of the States *hereupon.*

The Duke of Marlb. *decamps from* Elſt.

of *June*, N. S. The *French* ſaw the *Confederate* Army retire with greater Tranquility, than they had expreſs'd when they firſt advanc'd that Way; And the Duke of *Marlborough*, when he arrived at *Triers*, held a great Council of War. It was there reſolved; "That "the Forces under his Command ſhould march "back to the *Maeſe*, except 7,000 *Palatines*, "in the Pay of *England* and *Holland*, who "were unfortunately left for the Security of "*Triers*, and other Poſts, on that Side, under "the Command of Lieutenant-General *Au-* "*bach*. They were to be joined by Part of "the Troops of *Weſtphalia*; And the 12,000 "*Pruſſians*, with the 4,000 Men of *Wirtem-* "*berg*, were ordered to march to *Lauterburg*, "to re-inforce Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*". According to this Reſolution, his Grace, after having ſpent ſome Weeks in this fruitleſs Attempt, march'd for the *Netherlands*, by the ſhorteſt Way, very much mortified, at this ill Uſage of the *Germans*; And the *Imperial* Troops, the *Pruſſians* and *Wirtemberghers*, moved towards the *Upper Rhine*.

1705.

A Council of War.

The Reſult of it.

The Duke returns towards the Netherlands.

THE Marſhal *de Villars*, having now no Enemy before him, made a Detachment to re-inforce the *Elector* of *Bavaria*; Another, for the Army under the Marſhal *de Marſin*, in *Alſace*; and advanced, with the Reſt, towards the *Saar*. Upon the firſt Notice of his Approach, the *Palatine* General ſent precipitate Orders to the Governour of *Saarbruck* to quit that Caſtle, and blow up the Fortifications, as ſoon as the Enemy ſhould appear, which was punctually performed. This Overſight was but a Preliminary to the unpardonable Blunder, committed by Monſ. *d'Aubach*; Who, to compleat the ill

Ill Conduct of the Germans.

1705. Conduct of the *Germans*, on the five and twentieth of *June*, even before any Enemy appeared in Sight, deſtroy'd all the Magazines, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* had, at a vaſt Expence, erected at *Triers*; Blew up the Fortifications; Burnt the Boats deſigned to make Bridges, and, in a ſcandalous Manner, quitted that important Poſt.

Conſequences of it. The *French*, who did not expect ſo eaſy a Conqueſt, took Poſſeſſion of it, four Days after, and the Marſhal *de Villars* march'd to join the Marſhal *de Marſin*, and, in Conjunction with him, beat the *Imperialiſts* from the Lines of *Crone-Weiſſemburg*.

GENERAL *Thungen* had enough to maintain himſelf, in the Lines of *Lauterburg*; The ſame fatal Influence, which diſappointed the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Projects on the *Moſel*, having kept the *German* Troops diſperſed, as if it were on Deſign, to give the *French* an Opportunity, to beat General *Thungen* over the *Rhine*, and retake *Landau*.

Reflections on Prince Lewis's *Conduct.* THE Prince of *Baden*'s Conduct, throughout this whole Affair, lay very open to Cenſure; And he was almoſt generally believed to be corrupted by the *French*; While others, who were for putting the beſt Conſtruction they could upon it, were obliged to attribute his Acting as he did, to his Haughtineſs, and an Envy of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Succeſs.

Incredible Expedition of the Duke of Marlborough. THE Infantry, under the Duke of *Marlborough*, together with the Train of Artillery, march'd from *Triers* the nineteenth of *June*, under the Command of General *Churchill*; The twentieth, his Grace followed with the Horſe, and encamp'd at *Hôpital*; The twenty-firſt, he came to *Bibrich*; The next Day, to *Pruyn*, where he halted, the twenty-third, and

and the four and twentieth to *Dreyborn*. Upon Advice from Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*, that the *French* had inveſted the Citadel of *Liege*, his Grace ſent Orders, the twenty-firſt, to General *Churchill*, to detach 100 Men, with all the Grenadiers, out of each Battalion, under the Command of the Earl of *Orkney*, Lieutenant-General, to meet the Horſe at *Duren*, the ſix and twentieth; And having received a ſecond Information, from the *Dutch* Velt-Marſhal, that the Enemy had been retarded two or three Days before *Liege*, for want of their Artillery, his Grace ſent freſh Orders, to the Earl of *Orkney*, to haſten his March. His Grace made this extraordinary Expedition, that he might join Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*, Time enough to ſave the Citadel of *Liege*, or give Battle to the Marſhal *de Villeroy*, before he could draw off his Cannon: And it is certain, that he thereby entirely chang'd the whole Face of Affairs in the *Netherlands*, to the Advantage of the *Allies*. 1705.

Which changes the Face of Affairs;

THE Enemy, upon Advice of the Duke's Approach, ſent back their Artillery to *Namur*, and, the ſeven and twentieth, in the Morning, quitted the City of *Liege*, and retired to *Tongeren*. The Duke of *Marlborough*, on his Side, continued his March with his Horſe, the five and twentieth, from *Dreyborn* to *Duren*, where the Earl of *Orkney* was already arrived. The ſame Day, upon Advice from Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*, that the Enemy's Forces were preparing to retire from before *Liege*, and had, to that End, put their Cannon on Board ſeveral Boats, to be ſent up the *Maeſe*, his Grace thought fit to make a Halt with the Horſe, on the ſix and twentieth; But the Detachment of Foot continued their March, and, the ſame Day, General *Churchill*

And obliges the Enemy to raiſe the Siege of the Citadel of Liege.

1705. *Churchill* joined the Duke his Brother, with the Reſt of the Foot.

The Duke of Marlborough *arrives at* Maeſtricht.

THE ſeven and twentieth, his Grace, having left Orders for all the Troops to advance by eaſier Marches, came away from *Düren*, and arrived, about Noon, at *Maeſtricht*; Where he was received with a triple Diſcharge of the Artillery, and great Expreſſions of Joy. His Grace had regulated Matters with Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*, and the other Generals, to march, the firſt of *July*, N. S. to the Enemy; But, that very Day, the *French* march'd from *Tongeren*. They had mark'd out a Camp, at *Waremes*, where Preparations were actually making for the Entertainment of their Generals; But, upon Advice, that the *Confederate* Army would paſs the *Maeſe*, that Morning, they continued their March, and encamp'd at *Montenaken*, within a League and a half of their Lines; Upon which, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Generals thought fit to let their Troops reſt, one Day more, after ſo hard a March.

THE ſame Day, the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Army paſs'd the *Maeſe*, over two Bridges, near *Viſelle*, and advanced to *Haneff*; And the Forces commanded by Monſ. *d'Auverquerque* march'd, at the ſame Time, to *Theis*, upon the *Jaar*.

The French *retreat within their Lines.*

The Enemy having Notice of this March, decamped, that very Evening, with great Precipitation, and retired into their Lines, having ſent away moſt of their Baggage, the Day before. The third, the *Confederate* Armies made a Halt; But march'd, the next Day; That, under the Duke of *Marlborough* to *Lens les Beguinnes*, where they had their *Left*, and their *Right* at *Treſin*; And the other, under Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*, had it's *Right*, at *St. Servatin* and *Latine*, and *Breff*, upon it's *Left*. THE

THE *Confederate* Generals reſolved, hereupon, to retake the Caſtle of *Huy*, before they proceeded farther. To this End they made a Detachment under General *Scholten*, which inveſted that Place, the ſixth. The next Day, the Duke of *Marlborough*, with his Troops, and thoſe of the *States*, put themſelves in a Situation, to cover, and help to carry on, the Siege. Two Days after, the Cannon, and Mortars, began to play upon Fort *Picard*, with ſo good Succeſs, that General *Scholten* made the neceſſary Diſpoſitions, for attacking it. The Enemy was beat, with great Bravery, out of the cover'd Way, and the *Confederate* Troops were reſolutely climbing up the Fort; which the Enemy perceiving, they fled into the Caſtle, with the Loſs of their Commander, and ſeven more, who were taken Priſoners; and the *Red* Fort, they had abandon'd two Hours before. 1705. *The Caſtle of* Huy *inveſted by the* Confederates.

THE tenth, a Battery of twelve Guns, and ſeveral Mortars, were brought to play againſt the Caſtle. The eleventh, a Battery was erected in Fort *Joſeph*, which, with the other, had ſo good Succeſs, that the Enemy, ſeing a Breach was already made, beat a Parly, deſiring to be conducted to *Namur*; but this being refus'd, they ſurrendered upon the ſame Conditions, as were allowed to the *Dutch* Garriſon, when the *French* took that Place, juſt a Month before, and were made Priſoners of War. The twelfth, the Garriſon march'd out, to the Number of 450 Men, beſides the Sick and Wounded, and was carried to *Maeſtricht*. As for the Loſs the Beſiegers ſuſtained, it was very inconſiderable. *And retaken.*

CHAP.

1705.

CHAP. X.

Succeſsful Attack of the French *Lines, with other Tranſactions, to the Concluſion of the Year* 1705.

The Duke of Marlb. *propoſes to force the* French *Lines.*

THE Diſappointment on the *Moſel* ſitting very heavy on the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Mind, his Grace reſolved to recover that Misfortune, by undertaking ſomething worthy of himſelf, on the *Maeſe*; and as no Enterprize appeared more difficult in itſelf, and more advantageous in its Conſequences, than the Attack of the Enemy's Lines, his Grace ſent General *Hompeſch* to propoſe it to the *States General*. That General ſoon returned with the Anſwer of Their *High Mightineſſes*, which was, "That having an entire "Confidence in the Conduct and Prudence "of his Grace, They left it entirely to him, "to do whatever he ſhould think for the "Good of the Common Cauſe." The Duke, hereupon, held a Council of War, wherein the Generals of his Army, and thoſe of Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*'s were preſent. The Debate was the forcing of the Enemy's Lines; but nothing being reſolved upon, the firſt Time, a ſecond Council was called. Some Generals, in the Service of the *States*, oppos'd the Duke's Project; But Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*, the hereditary Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, Count *de Noyelles*, and ſome others, declared, it was their Opinion, that neither the Enterprize was dangerous, nor the Succeſs of it improbable, if the judicious Meaſures propoſed by the Duke of *Marlborough*

Some Dutch *Generals oppoſe it.*

borough were put in Execution: Whereupon the Reſolution was taken. The Enemy were poſted along the Lines, with near 100 Battalions, and 146 Squadrons; The *Confederate* Army, on the other Hand, conſiſted of ninety-two Battalions, and 160 Squadrons; ſo that they were pretty equal in Force. 1705. *The Duke's Opinion prevails.*

THE Enemy, having, therefore, the Advantage of being ſtrongly entrench'd, with a like Number of Troops, it was reſolved to make a Feint to divide them. And, accordingly, the Army, under Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*, decamp'd from *Vignamont*, the ſeventeenth of *July*, N. S. at three in the Morning, and march'd towards *Bourdine*, on the other Side of the *Mehaigne*, and the Duke of *Marlborough* made a Motion, at the ſame Time, as if he intended to ſupport Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*, in the Attack of the Lines, about *Meffelen*, where they were not ſo ſtrong as in other Parts. This Stratagem ſucceeded to Wiſh; for thoſe Motions, particularly the paſſing of the *Mehaigne*, having given great Jealouſy to the *French*, they beſtow'd their Attention on the Side of the *Gerbiſe*, towards *Namur*, whereupon the Duke of *Marlborough* made the following Diſpoſition, in Order to march, with the whole Army, in the Night between the ſeventeenth and eighteenth. *A Stratagem put in Practice; Which ſucceeds.*

" LIEUTENANT GENERAL *Scholten*, having rejoin'd the Army with ten Battalions, " and ten Squadrons only, thirteen Squadrons " more, out of the *Right* of the Duke of " *Marlborough*'s ſecond Line, were added to " them; and five of thoſe Squadrons were " given to Colonel *Chanclos*, who being perfectly acquainted with the Lines, and the " Nature *The Diſpoſition in Order to attack the Lines.*

1705. " Nature of the Ground, was order'd to march
" at the Head of all. Eleven Battalions, and
" all the Horſe of the *Right* Wing of his
" Grace's Army, to the Number of twenty-
" four Squadrons, were alſo detach'd, in Or-
" der to march at the Head of the firſt Line;
" and thoſe two Detachments were to be com-
" manded by Count *Noyelles*, General of the
" Infantry, having under him the Lieutenant-
" Generals, *Lumley*, *Hompeſch*, *Scholten*, and
" Count *d'Ooſt Friſe*: The Major-Generals
" *Wood*, *Roſs*, *Erbach*, *Welderen*, Prince of
" *Heſſe-Homburg*, and *Weeck*; and the Bri-
" gadiers *Hey*, *Palms*, *Baldwin*, *Sacken*, *Gre-*
" *vendorf*, *Poſern*, *Meredith*, and *Hamilton*. On
" the ſeventeenth, about four in the After-
" noon, his Grace gave Orders for the whole
" Army to get ready to march; that all the
" Baggage ſhould aſſemble, at ſix, near *Tou-*
" *rine*, behind the Camp, under the Guard of
" a Colonel with 400 Foot and 100 Horſe;
" That at nine in the Evening, Count *Noy-*
" *elles* ſhould advance, with the two Bodies
" before mentioned, filing off by their *Right*,
" that which aſſembled before their firſt Line
" to the *Left*, and that of Lieutenant-Gene-
" ral *Scholten* to the *Right*, marching thro'
" the *Route*, the Guides would ſhew them,
" directly towards *Wangen* and *Elixheim*,
" which two Poſts they were to attack, if
" the Poſture the Enemy were in, would
" permit: That his Grace's Army ſhould
" march, likewiſe at Ten o'Clock, following
" the ſame *Route*, which the two Detachments
" took; That the Artillery ſhould move, at
" the ſame Time, on the *Right* of the Army;
" That Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*'s Artillery ſhould
" follow

" follow the ſame Way; That an Hour before 1705.
" the Army march'd, all the Horſe of the
" *Left* Wing of his Grace's Army ſhould move
" along the two Lines, and repair to the
" *Right* of the Infantry; That, at the ſame
" Time, the Body of Horſe commanded by
" the Earl of *Albermarle*, ſhould advance for-
" wards, from their Camp; That Monſieur
" *d'Auverquerque*'s Army ſhould repaſs the
" *Mehaigne*, over the 12 Bridges, made there
" for that Purpoſe, and ſhould join, with the
" *Right* of his Foot, the *Left* of his Grace's
" Army; That when Monſieur *d'Auverquerque*
" ſhould begin to move, he ſhould detach a
" ſtrong Party of Dragoons, towards *Gerbisé*,
" to give the Alarm in the Enemy's Line, on
" that Side; And that the Detachment com-
" manded by the Lord *Albermarle* ſhould bring
" up the Rear of All. This Diſpoſition being
" made, and the Gun which is uſually fired for
" the Tattoo, being now the Signal for taking
" down the Tents, the two Armies began their
" March, between ten and eleven in the Eve-
" ning, filing off, by their *Right*, in two Co-
" lumns, leaving *Cortis*, *Montenaken*, *Houtein*
" and St. *Gertruydenland*, to their *Right*; And
" the Villages *Trogne*, *Cras*, *Avergna*, *Baud-*
" *win*, *Reitſhoven*, *Over Winden* and *Neer*
" *Winden*, to their *Left*, and marching directly
" towards their Line, where the two firſt De-
" tachments were to attempt to force their
" Paſſage at *Elixheim*, the Caſtle of *Wangh*,
" and the Villages of *Wangh*, *Neerheſpen* and
" *Ooſtmalen*."

THE Guides which conducted the Detach- *Proceedings thereupon.*
ments were ſomewhat at a Loſs, on Occaſion of the extream Darkneſs of the Night; And this

1705. this ſo retarded their March, that it was half an Hour paſt four, in the Morning, and Broad Day, when they arrived before the Poſts I have mentioned above, which, according to the Information, they had before received, they found but thinly guarded.

The Lines forc'd.

COUNT *de Noyelles* caus'd the Caſtle of *Wangh*, which defended a Stone Bridge that was there, on the *Geete*, to be attack'd; But the Enemy immediately abandon'd that Poſt, and gave an Opportunity to the Grenadiers, who were order'd on that Service, to march forwards, and attack the Barrier of the Line; Which the Guard there did not defend much better; And ſo the Troops enter'd the Line, on that Side, with little or no Oppoſition; Tho' the Enemy had 12 Squadrons of Dragoons encamp'd behind *Ooſtmalen* (within a Cannon-Shot of them) who immediately mounted their Horſes, but durſt not advance to defend their Barriers. At the ſame Time, three Battalions poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Bridge and Village of *Heliſheim*, a Quarter of a League from *Wangh*, on the *Left*, which was done with as little Oppoſition: Nor did Lieutenant-General *Scholten* meet with greater Reſiſtance, at the Villages of *Ober-heſpen* and *Neder-heſpen*: So that being Maſters of thoſe Bridges and Barriers, and having made ſeveral other Bridges, the Horſe went over the ſame, and immediately form'd themſelves on the Eminence, extending their *Right* towards the Village of *Hachendoren*; And ſome Battalions drew up along the Line, and behind the Horſe.

WHILE the Pioneers were buſy in making Paſſages thro' the Lines ten of the Enemy's Squadrons, and four Battalions, were perceived

between the Villages of *Gouchaincourt* and *Eſmanet*; But they gave Time for the *Confederate* Forces to extend themſelves, endeavouring only to advance to the Village of *Elixheim*. The Count *de Noyelles* caus'd all the Troops he had with him to go over, as faſt as poſſible: And the Duke of *Marlborough* arriving, with the whole Army, his Horſe went over the Line, with the ſame Expedition, as the Reſt had done; Thus they all advanc'd towards the Enemy, who, by this Time, were re-inforced to the Number of 50 Squadrons, and 20 Battalions, and advanc'd with great Reſolution, behind the hollow Way going up from *Elixheim* to *Tirlemont*. 1705.

THIS oblig'd the *Confederate* Horſe to ſtop a few Minutes, 'till ſome Battalions advancing lined the hollow Way, and firing upon the Enemy's Horſe, obliged them to retire beyond the Reach of their Muſkets, and to form themſelves before their Infantry. This gave an Opportunity to the *Confederate* Horſe to paſs the hollow Way. In the mean Time, the Enemy cauſed eight Pieces of Cannon, with treble Barrels, to advance, with which they began to fire briſkly upon them: But the Duke of *Marlborough* being come in Perſon, at the Head of his Horſe, and ſeing that the Enemy were continually receiving freſh Re-inforcements, and that their Infantry was going to join them, his Grace was reſolved to charge them with the Horſe only. This was done with that Vigour and Courage, that the Enemy's Cavalry, being ſoon broken, and put to the Rout, they endeavour'd to rally themſelves behind their Infantry, whilſt the victorious Horſe of the *Allies*

1705. *lies* poſſeſs'd themſelves of their Cannon and Ammunition-Waggons.

THE Enemy being re-inforced with ſome Squadrons, and having interlined ſome Infantry with them, moved again towards the *Allies*: But the latter, being likewiſe re-inforced, and ſuſtain'd by their Infantry, advanced to meet them. The *Right* of the *Confederate* Horſe coming too near the Hedges of the Village of *Eſmale*, which were lined with ſome of the Enemy's Foot, were ſomewhat diſorder'd by their Fire, and obliged to ſhrink back: But having, ſoon after, extended themſelves more towards the *Right*, to make Way for ſome Battalions that march'd againſt the Enemy's Foot, they both charged, with that Bravery and Briſkneſs, that the Enemy's Horſe was ſoon defeated, and cut in Pieces; And their Infantry being abandon'd in the Plain, had much ado to get away, in great Diſorder, between the Villages of *Heiliſheim* and *Gotſheven*, where they met with the Reſt of their Army, and form'd themſelves as well as they could. In the mean Time, the Duke of *Marlborough* caus'd all the Reſt of his Troops to enter the Lines, and extended the *Right* of his Army, towards the great *Geete*, before *Tirlemont*, in which Town the Enemy had left the Battalion of *Monluc*, which, upon the firſt Summons, ſurrender'd Priſoners at Diſcretion.

Priſoners taken. IN this Action, the Marquis *d'Alegre*, and the Count *de Horn*, Lieutenant-Generals, a Major-General, two Brigadier-Generals, and a great Number of other Officers of all Ranks, beſides Abundance of private Men, were taken Priſoners. All the Troops of the *Allies* behaved themſelves with great Bravery and Reſolution; But,

But amongſt the Horſe, the Regiment of Brigadier *Cadogan* diſtinguiſh'd themſelves, having had the Honour to charge firſt. Which they did with ſuch Succeſs, that they defeated four Squadrons of *Bavarian* Guards, drove them thro' two Battalions of their own Foot, and took four Standards; And all this only with the Loſs of Lieutenant *Auſtin*, and ſome few Men. Nor was the Loſs of the other Troops greater in Proportion. The Duke of *Marlborough*, having very much expos'd himſelf in the Action, was in great Danger of his Life: For as he was leading on ſeveral Squadrons, a *French* or *Bavarian* Officer quitted his Poſt, and advanc'd Sword in Hand, to attack his Grace; But as he was raiſing himſelf upon his Stirrups, to reach him, he flung himſelf off of his Horſe, and was preſently kill'd. Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*, in his Account of this Action, ſays, the *Bavarian* Horſe, which conſiſted of 24 Squadrons, offering to oppoſe the *Confederates*, was almoſt entirely ruined, as was, likewiſe, the two Regiments of *Alſace* and *la Marque*. 1705.

STANDARDS and *COLOURS* taken.

Standards and Colours taken.

NINE Standards, of Blue Sattin, richly Embroider'd with the *Bavarian* Arms, ſix belonging to the *Elector*'s own Troops, and three to thoſe of *Cologn*, having the following Motto's and Devices.

1. A LAUREL: *Aut Coronari aut Rumpi.*
2. AN OLIVE Tree on a Rock: *Per ardua Laurus.*
3. A PILLAR reaching the Clouds: *Tantum Umbra movetur.*

1705. 4. A BEAR rampant: *Ex Vulnere crudelior.*

5. A DOVE with a Lawrel Branch: *Uni fidem.*

6. A CHAOS: *Obſtantia firmant.*

7. A HELMET with a Feather on a Pedeſtal: *Ex duris Gloria.*

8. AN OLIVE Tree ſhading Serpents: *Nocet Umbra Nocenti.*

9. THIS Standard was ſtript: But was of the *Elector*'s Guards.

FOUR Colours, Three belonging to *Monluc*'s Regiment, and One taken in the Field.

ONE Pair of Kettle-Drums, belonging to the *Spaniſh* Troops.

THERE were many more Standards and Colours taken.

THERE were, likewiſe, taken ten Pieces of Cannon, with three Barrels each, to diſcharge three Balls at once; beſides eight others, three of which were twenty-four Pounders.

A Medal ſtruck on this Occaſion.

UPON this Occaſion a *Medal* was ſtruck, in the following Manner:

ON the *Face* is repreſented a *Buſto* of Her Majeſty, with Her Title, as uſual; and, on the *Reverſe*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, on Horſeback, entring the Enemy's Lines, to advance to *Tirlemont*, which appears in View, with this Inſcription over it:

FORTES FORTUNA JUVAT.

Fortune favours the Valiant.

And in the *Exergue*;

FOSSIS,

Vol. I. Page 500.

1705.

FOSSIS, VALLISQUE HOSTIUM SUPERATIS IN BRABANTIA ET FLANDRIA, 1705.

The Enemy's Ditches and Lines, in Braband *and* Flanders, *forced, in* 1705.

THE Body of Troops, under the Command of Monſ. *d'Alegre*, being thus defeated, the *Elector* of *Bavaria*, and the Marſhal *de Villeroy*, conſulted for the Safety of the Reſt of their Army; and, decamping, in Sight of the *Confederates*, paſs'd the Great *Geete*, and the *Deule*, with all imaginable Diligence, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of the ſtrong Camp at *Parck*, with their *Left*, at *Rooſelaer*, and their *Right*, againſt the Height of *Louvain*, at *Wineſelen*. From thence, the *Elector* wrote the following *Laconick* Letter, to his Favourite, the Baron *de Malknecht*.

Retreat of the Elector *of* Bavaria *and the Marſhal de* Villeroy.

Dear Baron,

"GOD forgive thoſe who ſuffer'd themſelves to be ſurprized. The whole Army is here, and the Evil is not ſo great as to be paſt Remedy. The Country of *Brabrant* may be ſaved, as well as *Antwerp*, if it pleaſe GOD. I am well; but exceedingly fatigued.

A Letter from the Elector *of* Bavaria *to his Favourite.*

On the other Hand, the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Army paſs'd the Great *Geete*, and encamp'd, with the *Right* at *Roſbeeck*, and the *Left*, behind *Tirlemont*; That of Monſ. *d'Auderquerque*, extended itſelf, at the ſame Time,

Motions of the Confederate *Army.*

1705. with the *Right*, to *Grain*, and the *Left* to *Elixheim*. The next Day, the *Confederate* Army marched; and, in their March, thro' the Plain of *Parck*, took above 1200 Prisoners, who could not follow the precipitate March of the Enemy's Army. In the Evening, the Duke of *Marlborough* encamp'd, with the *Right*, at the Abby of *Vlierſbeck*, and the *Left*, before *Bierbeck*, under the Cannon of *Louvain*.

An Overſight of the Confederates.

BY this Succeſs, the Enemy were, indeed, forced to abandon *Dieſt*, *Sichem*, *Arſchot*, and ſome other ſmall Places; However, the ſuffering them to poſſeſs themſelves of the ſtrong Camp at *Parck*, whereby they ſecured *Louvain*, *Bruſſels*, and *Antwerp*, was beyond Diſpute, a very great Overſight; but on whom, in particular, to charge it, is not ſo eaſy to determine. Some will have it, that the Troops were too much fatigued, to march to that Camp, the ſame Day, after the Action; while others pretend, that ſome of the *Dutch* Generals were againſt that March.

THE Duke of *Marlborough* was no ſooner come to *Tirlemont*, than he diſpatch'd away Lieutenant-General *Hompeſch* to the *States General*, with a Letter, giving an Account of this Great Succeſs; of which, the following is a Tranſlation.

The Duke of Marlborough's *Letter to Their* High Mightineſſes, *the* States General.

HIGH *and* MIGHTY LORDS,

The Duke of Marlborough's Letter to the States General.

"I CONGRATULATE Your *High Mightineſſes* upon our happy Entrance into the Lines, "and the Defeat of a conſiderable Body of the "Enemy

" Enemy, who offered to diſpute the ſame. 1705.
" We began our March, about 10 at Night,
" and Count *Noyelles*, who commanded the
" Detachment of 38 Squadrons, and 20 Bat-
" talions, which I had ſent to ſurprize the
" Poſts of *Neerheſſen* and *Heileſheim*, had all
" the deſired Succeſs, and diſtinguiſh'd him-
" ſelf, in a particular Manner, as did alſo the
" Prince of *Heſſe*, and all the other Generals,
" who were in the Action. The Troops did
" alſo expreſs ſuch Bravery, as was even be-
" yond our Hopes The Enemy being re-
" pulſed, I cauſed the Forces to advance to-
" wards this Place, where I obliged the Bat-
" talion of *Monluc* to ſurrender Priſoners. I
" thought this good News deſerved to be ſent
" to Your *High Mightineſſes*, by a Perſon of
" Note, and I have choſen Lieutenant-Gene-
" ral *Hompeſch*, who had a great Share therein,
" to inform You of the other Particulars, re-
" ferring to my next, to give Your *High*
" *Mightineſſes* an exact Account of the Priſon-
" ers, Cannon, and Standards, taken from
" the Enemy. I intend to advance to-morrow
" towards *Louvain*. I am, with an inviolable
" Reſpect, Your *High Mightineſſes* moſt hum-
" ble, and moſt obedient Servant,

From the Camp at Tirlemont, July 18, 1705.

Sign'd,

The Prince and Duke of

MARLBOROUGH.

MONSIEUR *d'Auverquerque* wrote likewiſe Letter, at the ſame Time, to Monſ. *Fagel*, be communicated to the *States*, which con- *Monſ.* d'Auv. *writes likewiſe to the* States.

1705. taining little or nothing more, than the Circumſtances I have already mentioned, I ſhall only add his Poſtſcript, which does particular Honour to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and is a Monument of his excellent Conduct.

The Poſtſcript to his Letter.

P. S. " I muſt do this Juſtice to the Duke " of *Marlborough*, to give him all the Honour " of this Enterprize, which he has carried " on and ſupported, with a great deal of " Conduct and Valour. We march again to- " morrow. We have made Priſoners of War " a Regiment in *Tirlemont*.

THE *States*, having received theſe Accounts, returned a Letter of Thanks to his Grace, in which, among other Things, they ſay:

Extract of the States Letter to the Duke of Marlb.

" *OUR Generals allow, that this Victory,* " *under* GOD, *is entirely due to your Excellen-* " *cy's Care, Prudence, and Valour; Having* " *ſurmounted and conquer'd thoſe Difficulties and* " *Obſtacles, which, for above two Years, have* " *appeared Unſurmountable and Invincible.*

The Duke of Marlb. *ſends a Meſſenger to the* Emperour.

HIS Grace, reſolving to ſend an Account of this Succeſs to the *Emperour*, by a particular Perſon, choſe, for that End, Colonel *Richards*, one of his Adjutants, who had the Direction of making the Bridges, and had behaved himſelf very well in this Action. He arrived at *Vienna*, with that welcome News, the ſix and twentieth of *July*, while the Court was celebrating the Anniverſary of the Birth-day of the *Emperour*, who then enter'd the eight and twentieth Year of his Age. His *Imperial* Majeſty took that Opportunity to declare in Publick, the great Eſteem he had for the Duke of *Marlborough*, and among other

Things

1705.

The Emperour's *Declaration concerning him.*

Private Opinion of the Court of Vienna.

things ſaid, *That the Duke's Services to the Common Cauſe in General, and in Particular to His Family, were ſuch, that they ſhould never be forgotten, by Him or His Poſterity.*

THE Court of *Vienna*, however, tho' they could not but allow this Enterprize to have been a glorious One, yet were either apprehenſive or jealous of the Conſequences of it; For Count *Wratiſlau*, in a Letter, of the 25th of *July*, to a Perſon of Note, at the Court of *Hannover*, expreſſes the Opinion the *Imperial* Miniſters had of it, in the following Words: *Nous avons hier eu des Avis, que My Lord Duc doit avoir forcé les Lignes; Si cela eſt, il ne ſongera plus de revenir à la* Moſelle. *J'avouë que ce coup ſera fort glorieux, pour ſa perſonne; Mais je ne ſais, s'il ſera fort utile à la Cauſe commune, prevoyant que les* Hollandois, *attirés par l'amorce de quelques contributions, pourſuivront leur pointe, et ſeront, à la fin, obligés de dimminuer leur Armée, par les Garniſons qu'ils mettront dans les groſſes Villes, & tomberont, par Conſequence, dans les inconveniens de la guerre paſsée.* That is, "We received Ad-
"vices Yeſterday, according to which the
"Duke of *Marlborough* muſt have forced the
"Lines. If that be true, he will think no
"more of returning to the *Moſel*. I allow,
"this Stroke will be very advantageous to
"the Duke; but I don't know whether it
"will be of any great Benefit to the Com-
"mon Cauſe; for I foreſee, that the *Dutch*,
"invited by the Bait of ſome Contributions,
"will purſue their Point, and, in the End,
"be forced to weaken their Army, to put
"Garriſons into their larger Towns, and, of

"Con-

1705. "Conſequence will fall into the Inconveni-
"ences of the preceding War.

A Thankſgiving celebrated in England.

THE Account of this Advantage was brought to *England*, by Colonel *Durel*, who arrived at *Windſor* (where the Queen and Prince then were) the fourteenth of *July*, O. S. A Week after, Her Majeſty's Proclamation was publiſhed, appointing the twenty-third of *Auguſt*, for a Day of Publick and General Thankſgiving, throughout *England* and *Wales*: And, when the Day came, it was uſhered in as uſual, and Her Majeſty celebrated it by repairing to *St. Paul's*, with the ſame State and Solemnity, as She had done the Year before, after the Battle of *Hochſtadt*.

Farther Proceedings of the Confederate *Army.*

WE left the Duke of *Marlborough* encamp'd at *Vlierbeck*, where he was informed, that ſeveral Poſts on the *Deule*, between *Louvain*, and the Village of *Neer Yſche* were ſlenderly guarded; He, therefore, reſolved, with the Advice of the Generals, to endeavour to force them, in Order to the Paſſing of that River. To this End, Lieutenant-General *Heukelum*, with five Battalions and nine Squadrons, of the Army of the *States*; The Duke of *Wirtemberg*, with twelve Battalions, and Count *Oxenſtiern*, with eleven Squadrons of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Forces, were ordered to advance, on the nine and twentieth of *July*, about five in the Afternoon, with the *Pontons*, and ſome Artillery. At eleven, at Night, the Army decamp'd from the *Left*, and followed that Detachment, which arrived at theſe Poſts, about three the next Morning. The Workmen immediately made Bridges at *Neer Yſche*, on the *Left*, and near *Corbeck*, on the *Right*.

The

1705.

Two Battalions, with 500 Grenadiers, and as many Fuſiliers, paſs'd over at the former Place, and 500 Grenadiers, at the latter. They repuls'd, with great Vigour, the Guards which made a Shew to oppoſe them, and obliged them to retire; But not being timely ſupported, they were ordered to repaſs it, which they did, in very good Order, bringing away their Bridges, and having had only a few Officers wounded, and about fifty private Soldiers killed and wounded: After this ſucceſsleſs Attempt, the *Confederate* Army marched, and encamp'd, with the *Right*, at *Meldert*, and the *Left*, at *Boſſu*.

An Attempt to paſs the Deule, *unſucceſsful.*

THE Day before, the Earl of *Sunderland*, who was going Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to *Vienna*, came to the Army, to make a Viſit to the Duke, his Father in Law, and, on the ſixth of *Auguſt*, N. S. his Lordſhip, with ſeveral other Gentlemen, ſet out for that Court.

The Earl of Sunderland *viſits the Duke.*

THE Court of *Vienna* was, at firſt, jealous, that the Earl of *Sunderland* might take Advantage of the Mediation the *Emperour* had accepted of, to make ſome Propoſals that might not be the moſt acceptable to His *Imperial* Majeſty. Count *Wratiſlau* gave the Senſe of that Court, on this Matter, in a Letter of the 25th of *July*, to a Perſon of Diſtinction, at another *German* Court, of which the following is an Extract.

The Court of Vienna *jealous of him.*

EXTRACT *of a Letter from Count* Wratiſlau *to Monſ.* * * * *, *tranſlated from the* French *Original.*

Extract of a Letter from Count Wratiſlau *to Monſ.*

"WE expect My Lord *Sunderland* here every Moment. I know him very well, and have a great Deference for him; But * * * *.

1705. " But that ſame Knowledge of His Principles " and Temper make me fear, that he may be " too much inclined to think of eſtabliſhing a " Sort of Republick in *Hungary*; And you " you know that this will, by no Means, agree " with the Maxims of this Court.——We can " never reſolve to condeſcend to unreaſonable " Conditions, more proper to excite new " Troubles, than to maintain the Tranquillity " of this Kingdom. The Mediation of the " two *Maritime* Powers, which we have ac- " cepted of, ought to convince them of our " Sincerity, and the Sequel of the Treaty will " ſhew, how reaſonable we are; But to draw " a Conſequence from this Mediation to eſta- " bliſh a Guaranty, and to look upon this " Guaranty as a meer Point of Honour; This, " indeed, is what, in true Policy, can never " be admitted of: For, certainly, no Prince " ever accepted of the Guaranty of a Foreign " Potentate, between himſelf and his Subjects; " Eſpecially, as there is reaſon to fear, that " this may not be the laſt Revolt, in a Nation " ſo inconſtant as the *Hungarian* is, and a " Guaranty being once admitted, upon another " Occaſion, they might inſiſt on that of the " *Po*[illegible].

Extract of a ſecond Letter from the ſame.

THEIR Fears and Jealouſies were, however, diſſipated, ſoon after the Earl's Arrival; For, on the twelfth of *September*, Count *Wratiſlau* wrote to the ſame Gentleman, in the following Words: *Cette Cour eſt tres contente des Manieres & de la Conduite de My Lord* Sunderland: *Ce n'eſt pas qu'au Commencement il n'ait pris quelques Impreſſions ſugerées par Monſ.* Stepney: *Mais il a été ſi bien eclairé de la Verité,* [illegible] *Roi*

Soin que Monſ. d'Obery *y apporté, qu'on eſt, tous les Jours, plus content de lui:* (That is, This "Court is very well ſatisfied with the Beha- "viour of My Lord *Sunderland*, not but that, "in the Beginning, the Suggeſtions of Mr. "*Stepney* had ſome Effect upon him: But by "the Aſſiduity of Monſ. *d'Obery*, he is now "ſo convinc'd of the Truth, that we are, "every Day, more and more ſatisfied with "him. 1705.

THE Impoſſibility of Attacking the Enemy, on that Side, being now very apparent, the Duke of *Marlborough* diſpatched Lieutenant-General *Hompeſch*, to propoſe a new Project to the *States General*. This their *High Mightineſſes* approved of, and, on the fifth of *Auguſt*, paſs'd a Reſolution, directing Their Deputies, in Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*'s Army, to permit the Duke, to make two or three Marches, without Calling a Council of War, to execute ſome Deſign formed by his Grace. To favour that Expedition, Baron *Spar*, who commanded a ſmall Body of *Dutch* Troops, in *Flanders*, march'd, the third of *Auguſt*, N. S. from *Riemen*, with all his Grenadiers, and a ſufficient Number of Fuſiliers, to ſupport them, being followed by the Reſt of the Forces under his Command; And, in that March, defeated a Party of the Enemy. He came, in the Night, to *Raboth*, on the Canal that leads from *Bruges* to *Ghent*, where his Men made a Bridge, and having paſs'd over the Canal, they attack'd the Enemy's Lines, which were defended by ſeveral Forts, at a ſmall Diſtance from each other. Notwithſtanding this, they forced their Lines at *Lovendegen*, and in leſs than three Quarters of an Hour, were Maſters of four of thoſe Forts; In

The Duke forms a New Project;

See Letter B. *below.*

Which is approved by the States.

Succeſs of Baron Spar.

1705. In which Action, they took Priſoners three Captains, three Lieutenants, three Enſigns, and near 300 Private Men, with no other Loſs, on their Side, than that of a Colonel, a Lieutenant, and five private Soldiers wounded, and two private Men killed. Baron *Spar*, then march'd towards *Bruges*; But receiving Advice, that the Enemy was marching towards him, with a ſuperiour Force, which they had got together, from ſeveral Garriſons, in the *French* and *Spaniſh Flanders*, he retired, the ſeventh, to *Meldegem*, carrying away with him ſeveral Hoſtages, for the Security of the Payment of Contributions, and having deſtroyed ſeveral Forts, and *Corps de Garde*, along the *French* Lines, on that Side.

Farther Motions of the Duke's Army.

THE fifteenth, the Duke of *Marlborough*, having left two Battalions at *Tirlemont*, and as many at *Dieſt*, for the Security of thoſe Places, march'd, with his Army, from *Meldert*, and encamp'd at *Corbais*; The *Dutch* Forces, under the Command of Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*, advancing, at the ſame Time, to *St. Martin*'s.

THE next Day, the two Armies continued their March to *Genap*, and there united into one Body. The ſeventeenth, they advanced to *Fiſchermont*, the *Right* being at *Hulpen*, and the *Left*, at *Braine la Leu*; General *Churchill* being detach'd at the Head of the Line, with twenty Battalions, and as many Squadrons. In that Day's March, Monſ. *d'Auverquerque* cauſed one of the Poſts of the Enemy, called *Waterlo*, defended by Brigadier *Jaques Paſteur*, with two Regiments of Dragoons, and as many Battalions of Foot, to be attacked, by a Detachment, commanded by Lieutenant-General *D[illegible]re*, who beat the Enemy from that Poſt, and purſued

A Poſt taken by General d'Auverquerque.

purſued them about a League, in the Wood of *Soignies*. 1705.

THIS ſudden March of the *Confederates* kept the Enemy in great Apprehenſions, and gave them an equal Fear, for ſome Places in *Brabant* and *Flanders*. However, upon the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Advancing from *Genap* to *Hulpen*, the *Elector* of *Bavaria*, and the Marſhal *de Villeroy*, only ſtretch'd out their *Right* to *Over-Yſche*, near the Wood of *Soignies*, and kept ſtill their *Left*, at *Neer-Yſche*, with the little River *Yſche* before them, by which Means they covered both *Bruſſels* and *Louvain*. *Conſternation of the Enemy.*

THE eighteenth, by Break of Day, the *Confederate* Army filed off, with the *Right* Wing, in two Columns, and paſs'd the long narrow Road of the *Lane*, near *Hulpen*, where they were not a little ſurpriz'd to find no Enemy to defend that difficult Paſs. About Noon, the whole Army was drawn up in Sight of the Enemy, whom the Duke of *Marlborough* and Monſ. *d'Auverquerque* having view'd, they were both of Opinion to attack them immediately, before they had Time to recover the Conſternation which was apparent enough in their Army. But the Artillery not being come up (as it has been ſaid) thro' General *Schlangenburg*'s Fault; And that General, who had a Pique againſt the Duke (becauſe the Attempt upon the Lines was undertaken without his Privity or Conſent) having perſuaded ſome other *Dutch* Commanders to join with him in Oppoſing his Grace; They made their unanimous Report to the Deputies of the *States*, that the Enterprize was neither adviſable nor practicable, upon which the Deputies poſitively refuſed to comply with it. *The* Confederate *Army marches up to them.* *See Letters A and B. below.* *An envious Faction oppoſes the D. Deſign.*

THE

1705. THE Duke ſubmitted, tho' with a great deal of Reluctance, as appears by the expoſtulatory Letter † he wrote the next Day to the *States General*, juſtly complaining of a Want of that Confidence which they had repoſed in him, the Year before, in *Germany*, and of which they had experienced ſo advantageous an Effect. This Letter, being made Publick at the *Hague*, occaſioned great Murmurings among the People, who juſtly thought the Duke was too hardly dealt with, and that the Common Cauſe ſuffered by it.

He ſubmits with Reluctance.

† *See below, Leter* A.

The Dutch *Deputies and Generals endeavour to juſtify themſelves.*

ON the other Hand, the *Dutch* Deputies and Generals uſed all the Endeavours they could, to juſtify their Conduct, and to throw off the *Odium*, which they ſoon perceived was going to be caſt upon them. They wrote ſeveral Letters to Their High Mightineſſes to that End, of which I ſhall give the Reader the Copy of one, for a Specimen, and they cauſed them to be induſtriouſly diſperſed, to pre-engage the Minds of the People in their Favour; But they had no great Effect; For, it was the general Opinion of almoſt every one, *That more Deference ſhould have been paid to the Duke of* Marlborough's *Advice*; Eſpecially as it was corroborated by the Opinion of the Chief Generals of their own Troops; as we may ſee by the Letter of the Deputies of the *States General*.

See Leter B. *below.*

Various Opinions thereupon.

See Letter B. *below.*

A LATE Author offers an Argument in Juſtification of the *Dutch* (which I have not found elſewhere.) "The Duke (ſays he) with his "Army, came without farther Oppoſition "(that is, *after the Forcing of the Lines*) very "near *Louvain*, the *Dyle* running between "his Camp and the Town: A Deluge of Rain

" tell that Night, and ſwelled the *Deule* ſo, 1705.
" that it was not poſſible to paſs it. This
" gave the *French* Time to recover themſelves
" out of their firſt Conſternation, which the
" Advantages the *Confederates* had gain'd put
" them in. After a few Days, when the Paſ-
" ſing of the *Deule* was practicable, the Duke
" of *Marlborough* gave Orders for it; But the
" *French* were poſted, with ſo much Advan-
" tage, on the other Side, that the *Dutch* Ge-
" nerals perſuaded the Deputies of the *States*,
" that they muſt run a great Riſque, if they
" would venture to force the Paſſage ". I muſt confeſs, I can't well reconcile this Account, in Favour of the *Dutch*, with the Facts I have before related, upon very good Authority. He tells us of *a Delay, of a few Days, which gave the Enemy Time to recover themſelves out of their firſt Conſternation.* It was the eighteenth, that the *Confederate* Army came in Sight of the Enemy, and put them into this Conſternation; It was the ſame Day, that the Duke made the Propoſal, and that the *Dutch* Deputies and Generals refuſed to conſent to it; And upon this Diſappointment, the Duke cauſed the Army to march off again, the next Day, conſequently here was no Delay. Beſides, it was the *Yſche*, and not the *Deule*, which lay between the two Armies. His Relation muſt, therefore, refer to the Action, of the thirtieth of *July*, of which I have given an Account above; But that was an Attempt actually made (tho' unſucceſsful) and ſo far from being oppoſed, that it was adviſed, by the *Dutch* Deputies and Generals. So that taken either Way, this Relation is a groſs Miſtake, introduced in an improper Place, to juſtify the Conduct of the Deputies. Our

A Miſtake of a late Author rectified.

1705. Author, after this, proceeds to give a ſuccinct Account of the real Deſign, which the Deputies and *Dutch* Generals oppoſed; But, as if it was a ſecond Occaſion, in which they gave the Duke this Mortification. "The Duke of "*Marlborough* (*ſays he*) was not a little mor- "tified with this; But he bore it calmly, and "moved another Way. After ſome few Mo- "tions, another Occaſion was offered, which "the Duke intended to lay hold on: Orders "were given to force the Paſſage; But a Mo- "tion thro' a Wood, which was thought ne- "ceſſary to ſupport that, was not believed "practicable; So the Deputies of the *States* were "again poſſeſs'd with the Danger of the Attempt; "And they thought their Affairs were in ſo "good a Condition, that ſo deſperate an Un- "dertaking as this ſeem'd to be, was not to "be ventured on.

"THIS (*continues our Author*) was very un- "eaſy to the Duke; But he was forced to ſub- "mit to it, tho' very unwillingly: All agreed, "that the Enterprize was bold and doubtful; "Some thought it muſt have ſucceeded, tho' "with a Loſs at firſt; And that if it had "ſucceeded, it might have proved a deciſive "Action; Others, indeed, looked on it as too "deſperate. A great Breach was like to have "ariſen upon this, both in the Army, and a- "mong the *States*, at the *Hague*, and in the "Towns of *Holland*, eſpecially in *Amſterdam*; "Where the *Burghers* came in a Body to the "*Stadt-huys*, complaining of the Deputies, and "that the Duke of *Marlborough* had not fuller "Powers. I can give no Judgment, in ſo nice "a Point, in which Military Men were of ve- "ry different Opinions, ſome juſtifying

"Duke

" Duke of *Marlborough*, and others as much " cenſuring him. *He ſhewed great Temper, on* " *this Occaſion, and tho' it gave him a very* " *ſenſible Trouble, yet (to his eternal Honour) he* " *ſet himſelf to calm all the Heat, that was raiſed* " *upon it.* 1705.

" THE Lord *Haverſham* (in a memorable " Speech) ſays; By the Conduct of the Duke " of *Marlborough*, we had a fair Opportunity " of *putting an End to the War at once. The* " Dutch *held our Hands, and would not let us* " *give the deciding Blow.* *Lord* Haverſham's *Obſervations.*

" THOSE who command your Army are " Men of that Bravery, and every common " Soldier has ſo much Courage, that no equal " Number of Men in the World, I think, " can ſtand before them; *But let our Supplies* " *be never ſo full and ſpeedy, Yet if it be our* " *Misfortune to have* Allies, *that are as ſlow* " *and backward, as we are zealous and forward,* " *that hold our Hands, and ſuffer us not to take* " *any Opportunity that offers, that are coming* " *into the Field, when we are going into Winter-* " *Quarters, I cannot ſee what it is we are rea-* " *ſonably to expect.*

IT muſt be ſaid, in the Duke's Favour, for Juſtification, I think, he needs none; That he had an Army ſuperiour to the Enemy, and a great Part of it, beſides, fluſh'd with the Victory at *Blenheim*, and the whole with the late Advantage, at the Forcing the *French* Lines; And tho', as a late Author obſerves, there was a Difference of Opinion, even among the Officers of the Army, Yet far the greater Number, and in particular the Officers of the Horſe, were for the Attack. The Deputies did, indeed, purſuant to their Inſtructions, ſuffer the Duke

1705. of *Marlborough* to make two or three Marches without calling a Council of War; But, in their Inſtructions it is added, *for the Execution of ſome Deſign formed by his Grace*; Which they did not comply with; For when the Deſign, which was the Occaſion of theſe Marches, and without which they might as well have continued where they were, came to be put in Execution, they obſtructed it.

AGREABLE to this, is an Obſervation of the ſame Nobleman I juſt mentioned, in the Vindication of his Speech: "Did not the *Dutch* "Deputies (*ſays he*) march near three Days, "in Company with the Duke of *Marlborough*, "and, in all that Time, did they ever make "any Exception againſt the Deſign? Yet, "when it came to be put in Execution, when "a fair Opportunity offer'd, and Victory, in "a Manner courted us, there not being half "the Difficulty nor Danger there as at *Blen-*"*heim*, could any Arguments perſuade them "to conſent to venture a Battle?

I SHALL now proceed to give the Reader Copies of the Letters referred to above.

A.

The Duke of Marlborough's *Letter to the* States General.

High and Mighty Lords,

A Letter from the Duke of Marlb. *to the* States General.

"ACCORDING to what I had the Honour "to write to your *High Mightineſſes*, the "13th Inſtant, the Army march'd, *Saturday* "laſt, and encamp'd, that Night at *Corbais* and *St.* "*Martin's*, and the next Day at *Genap*. On *Mon-*"*day*, we came to *Fiſhermont*, and, Yeſterday, we

"were

" were in Motion, before Break of Day, and 1705.
" having paſs'd ſeveral *Defilees*, we came into
" a pretty large Plain, having found the Enemy,
" as we expected them, between *Ober-Yſche*
" and *Neer-Yſche*, with the little River *Yſche*
" before them; At Noon, or a little after,
" our whole Army was drawn up in Order of
" Battle, and having view'd, with Monſ.
" *d'Auverquerque*, the four Poſts which I de-
" ſign'd to attack, I flatter'd myſelf already,
" conſidering the Goodneſs and Superiority of
" our Troops, that I might ſoon have con-
" gratulated Your *High-Mightineſſes* upon a
" *Glorious Victory:* But, at laſt, when the At-
" tack was to begin, it was not thought fit
" to engage the Enemy. I am confident, that
" *Meſſieurs* the Deputies of your *High Mighti-*
" *neſſes*, will acquaint you with the Reaſons
" that were alledg'd to them *Pro* and *Con*;
" And that they will, at the ſame Time, do
" Monſ. *d'Auverquerque* Juſtice, by informing
" You, that he was of the ſame Opinion, with
" me, *That the Opportunity was too fair to be let*
" *ſlip:* However, I ſubmitted, *tho' with much*
" *Reluctancy.*

" I SHALL ſpeak this Day, to *Meſſieurs* the
" Deputies, and to Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*, that
" they may give Orders for the Attack of
" *Leuve*, and for carrying on, at the ſame
" Time, the levelling of the Lines.

At the Camp at *Louvre Wavre* *Aug.* 19. 1705. *I am with all manner of Reſpect, Your High Mightineſſes*, &c.

P. S. " My Heart is ſo full, that I cannot
" forbear repeating to your *High Mightineſſes*,
" on this Occaſion, That I find my Authority
" here

1705. " here, to be much leſs, than when I had the
" Honour to command Your Troops laſt
" Year, in *Germany*.

B.

A LETTER *from the Deputies of the* States General, *to their* High-Mightineſſes.

High and Mighty LORDS,

A Letter from the Field-Deputies to the States General.

" WE made ſeveral Marches ſince the 15th
" Inſtant, according to the Duke of
" *Marlborough*'s Project, communicated to us.
" Yeſterday we broke up from *Braine la Leu*,
" as we had the Honour, to notify to Your
" *High Mightineſſes*, on *Monday* laſt, That our
" Deſign was to march farther along the *Deule*,
" with an Intent to paſs the *Lane* and *Yſche*, and
" afterwards endeavour to make ourſelves Maſ-
" ters of *Louvain*, or gain ſome greater Advan-
" tages, for the Arms of the *States*, and the
" *High Allies*, by fighting the Enemy, if a fair
" Occaſion offer'd. Having paſs'd the *Lane*,
" where we wonder'd to find no Enemy to diſ-
" pute ſo difficult a Paſſage, we met with more
" Obſtacles at the *Yſche*. For, beſides the Re-
" port of three Generals who had view'd it,
" and ſaid there was no Ground for the Horſe,
" either to paſs, or be drawn up in, we found
" the Paſſes there ſo difficult, and the whole
" Enemy's Army ſo well poſted, to defend
" them, that we thought it was not to be at-
" tempted, without having firſt heard the
" Sentiments of Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*, and the
" other Generals and Lieutenant Generals. We
" found them all, except [illegible] *d'Auverquer-*
" *que*, to be unanimouſly of Opinion, that the

" At-

" Attacking of the Enemy, in the ſaid Poſts, 1705.
" would be attended with the greateſt Difficulty
" and Hazard for the Common Cauſe, alledg-
" ing: That, conſidering the Enemy could
" not be attacked but with great Diſadvantage
" on our Side, we ſhould, in Caſe of a De-
" feat, be reduced to the greateſt Streights
" imaginable, partly, becauſe being ſo far ad-
" vanced in the Enemy's Country, we ſhould
" neither have had Places, nor Hoſpitals,
" whither to ſend our wounded Men, and
" partly, becauſe in ſuch a Caſe, the Enemy
" might eaſily have cut off our Convoys of
" Bread. Beſides which, the ſaid Generals
" were of Opinion, that the Affairs of the
" *High Allies*, and our Republick, juſtly weighed,
" were not yet reduced to ſuch a Condition,
" as to attempt, as they call'd it, ſo deſperate
" a Work.

" WE own, that my Lord Duke of *Marl-*
" *borough* was of Opinion, as well as Monſ.
" *d'Auverquerque*, that the Attack was practi-
" cable, and might be attended with Succeſs;
" But we could not reſolve to conſent to a
" Thing of ſo great Importance, contrary to
" the Opinion of all the Generals of that Army,
" to which Your *High Mightineſſes* have done
" us the Honour to depute us.

" AND we hoping, that we have fully ſa-
" tisfied the Intentions of your *High Mighti-*
" *neſſes*, contained in your Reſolution of the
" 5th Inſtant, to permit the Duke of *Marl-*
" *borough*, without the holding a Council of
" War, to make two or three Marches, for
" the Execution of ſome Deſign formed by his
" Grace, which before, for the future, ſhall
" regulate our Conduct, according to our In-

1705. "ſtructions, and Your *High-Mightineſſes* Re-
"ſolution of the 26th of *June* laſt, except
"Your *High Mightineſſes* ſhould be pleaſed to
"ſend us farther Orders. And we cannot con-
"ceal from your *High Mightineſſes*, that all
"the Generals of our Army think it very
"ſtrange, that they ſhould not have the leaſt
"Notice of the ſaid Marches.

"THIS Day we came to encamp here, and deſign
"ſuddenly to march again, in Order to beſiege
"*Sout Leewe*, ſo ſoon as the neceſſary Prepa-
"rations ſhall be made ready.

Wherewith,

Waveren, Aug. 19. 1705. *High and Mighty* LORDS, &c.
Signed,

ROUWENOORT,
Van HEMSKERK,
N. V. SCHAGEN.

Farther Motions of the Confederate *Army.*

THE Duke of *Marlborough*'s Project being thus defeated, the *Confederate* Army march'd, the nineteenth of *Auguſt*, N. S. from *Lane* to *Lower Waveren*, where having reſted one Day, the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Forces returned to *Corbais*, and Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*'s Army came, at the ſame Time, to Mont *St. Hubert*. The ſix and twentieth, both Armies march'd, and then encamp'd together, with the *Right* near *La Romee*, and the *Left* at *Perwitz*.

Sout-Leewe taken.

THE ſeven and twentieth of *Auguſt*, a Detachment was made, under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Dedem*, to beſiege *Sout Leewe*, a little Town, in the Middle of a Moraſs, and the chief Defenſe on the Enemy's Lines. The Place was inveſted, the nine and twentieth

twentieth of *Auguſt*, and, a Week after, the Garriſon, to the Number of about 400 Men, commanded by Brigadier-General *Dumont*, ſurrender'd Priſoners of War, before the Batteries had begun to fire; The *Dutch* General having declared, that, if they held out any longer, he would give them no Quarter. 1705.

THE Duke of *Marlborough* having cauſed the Lines to be levell'd, from *Waſſeigue* to *Sout-Leewe*, and *Tirlemont* to be diſmantled, his Grace paſs'd the *Demer*, and encamp'd, the nineteenth of *September*, at *Arſchot*. Upon his Approach, the Enemy quitted their old Lines, between that River and the *Nethe*, and retired into the New Ones, between *Boeſchet*, on the *Nethe*, and *Werchtern*, on the *Demer*, where they could not be attack'd. The twenty-firſt, his Grace went to *Turnhout*, to meet Monſ. *Buys*, Penſionary of *Amſterdam*, who was ſent to confer with his Grace, on the Part of the *States General*. This was the Effect of the Duke's expoſtulatory Letter to Them, concerning the Uſage he had met with from Their Deputies, of which the Reader has ſeen a Copy above.

The Enemy's Lines levell'd.

Monſ. Buys *ſent from the* States General *to the Duke of* Marlborough.

WHAT paſs'd in this Interview, was not clearly known; But there were Reaſons to believe, *That Monſ.* Buys *aſſured his Grace of the Readineſs of Their* High Mightineſſes, *to give him all reaſonable Satisfaction, for the Diſguſt he had taken at ſome Proceedings at* Ober Yſche, *and to make him, for the future, more eaſy in his Command, by removing thoſe who ſhew'd the greateſt Inclination to contradict him.* This Conjecture will appear the more probable, if we conſider, the [illegible] Court, and, indeed, the Nation in general, did, at this Time, ſo warmly

Satisfaction offered the D. for the Diſguſt he had taken.

The Engliſh *Nation eſpouſes the Duke's Reſentment.*

1705. By eſpouſe the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Reſentment, that a Pamphlet, entitled, THE DUTCH POLITICIANS, in which ſevere Reflections were made on the *Hollanders*, in General, and, in particular, on the Deputies of the *States*, for not ſuffering his Grace to fight the Enemy, was publickly ſold, and eſcaped uncenſured; And what is more, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Preſident of the Council, was named to go Envoy Extraordinary to *Holland*, in Order, as it was ſuppoſed, to expoſtulate the Matter with the *States*; But Their *High Mightineſſes* prevented his Lordſhip's Journy, by giving Satisfaction to the Duke of *Marlbororough*, and removing General *Schlangenburg*.

Satisfaction given him.

HIS Grace remained ſome Days at *Arſchot*, to forward the Fortifications of *Dieſt*, *Haſſelt*, *Tongeren*, and ſome other ſmall Places, where Garriſons were to be left during the Winter. The eight and twentieth of *September*, N. S. the Army march'd to *Heventhals*, where, about a Fortnight after, the Duke of *Marlborough* left it, under the Command of Monſ. *d'Auverquerque*, and went for the *Hague*. His Grace ſtaid there three Days, during which Time, he had ſeveral Conferences with the *Penſionary*, and then return'd to *Heventhals*, from whence the *Confederates* decamp'd, the twentieth of *October*, N. S. and march'd to *Oaſtmael*. They continued their March, the next Day, to *Brecht*, halted there, the twenty-ſecond, and removed, the twenty-third to *Calmpthout*. The neceſſary Preparations of Artillery and Ammunition, for Attacking of *Sandvliet*, being made at *Bergen op Zoom*, the Count *de Nov[illegible]* inveſted that Place, the four and twentieth, and, the next Day, the Duke of *Marlborough* went thither, from

The D. goes to the Hague;

Returns to the Army; Which decamps.

Sandvliet inveſted.

from *Calmpthout*, to view the ſeveral Poſts, and to give his Directions for a Siege. 1704.

HIS *Imperial* Majeſty having ſent two very preſſing Letters to the Duke of *Marlborough*, to invite him to *Vienna*, in Order to concert the Operations of the next Campaign, and ſeveral other Concerns of the greateſt Importance, his Grace, having the Queen's Leave, accepted of the Invitation, and, to that End, ſet out from the Army, the ſix and twentieth of *October*, N. S. and came, the eight and twentieth, at Night, to *Duſſeldorp*, where he was compliment-ed, in the Name of the *Elector Palatine*, by Co-lonel *du Soquet*, who was appointed, together with other Officers of his *Electoral* Highneſs's Court, to attend his Grace, in his Journy, thro' the *Elector*'s Territories. The nine and twentieth, the *Elector* met his Grace, on the Road, about two Leagues from his Reſidence, at *Bernſberg*, and entertained him very magnifi-cently, under ſeveral Tents, which had been pitched there for that Purpoſe. After Dinner, his Grace continued his Journy, and, the thirtieth, at Night, was attended, at *Ditkirchen*, by Ba-ron *Elſt*, great Dean of the Chapter of *Triers*; And Baron *Van Hagen*, great Chamberlain to that *Elector*, who had ſent them to compliment his Grace, upon his paſſing thro' his Country.

The Duke of Marlborough *ſets out for* Vienna.

Is entertained by the Elector Palatine;

And compli-mented by the Elector *of* Triers.

THE thirty-firſt, in the Evening, his Grace came to *Frankfort*, and was ſaluted, at his En-trance into that City, with a treble Diſcharge of the Artillery; And, when he alighted out of his Coach, was complimented by the Magiſ-trates. His Grace reſted there, the firſt of *No-vember*, and, the ſame Evening, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* came thither to wait on him. He had a Conference with the Duke, that Night; And

Arrives at Frankfort.

And has a Conference with Prince Lewis *of* Ba-den.

1705. And another, the next Morning, in the Presence of Monſ. *Geldermalſen*, Plenipotentiary of the *States General*.

An Obſervation on the D. of Marlb. *prudent Conduct.*

As Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* had, or, at leaſt, was thought to have been, in a great Meaſure, the Cauſe of the Duke's Project on the *Moſel*, at the Beginning of the Campaign, being diſappointed, in the Manner the Reader has ſeen above, it was believed his Grace would, upon this Occaſion, have ſhewn ſome Marks of his Reſentment; But tho', at this Interview, they were narrowly obſerved, nothing appear'd, but all imaginable Demonſtrations of Friendſhip, and good Correſpondence. So prudent, and ſo cautious of giving Offence, was this great Man, that he rather choſe to ſuffer in his own Reputation and Glory, than to prejudice that of any other Perſon, tho' never ſo much deſerved.

Sandvliet *taken.*

THE Town of *Sandvliet* made no long Reſiſtance, for, on the nine and twentieth of *October*, N. S. Count *de Noyelles*, gave Advice of it's having ſurrendred, in a Letter to Monſ. *Fagel*.

The Duke of Marlb. *arrives at* Vienna.

THE Duke arrived at *Ratiſbon*, the ſixth of *November*, N. S. And, the ſame Evening, embark'd on the *Danube*, in Order to proceed, by Water, to *Vienna*, where he arrived, the twelfth. He was received, at Landing, by the Earl of *Sunderland*, and Mr. *Stepny*, who conducted him to the Houſe of the Prince of *Longueval*. The *Imperial* Court intended to have defray'd his Expences, and the Palace of the Prince of *Dietrichſtein* was fitted up for his Reception. But his Grace was pleaſed to decline both.

Has Audience of Their Imperial *Majeſties;*

THE Duke had Audience of their *Imperial* Majeſties, and the Archdukes, the Day after his Arrival; And the two following Days, he received

received and returned ſeveral Viſits. The ſixteenth, his Grace had a Conference with the Prince of *Salms*, and other Publick Miniſters, at which the *Emperour* was preſent. In this Conference, he was treated with great Freedom and Confidence, and he had all the Aſſurance given him that could be expreſs'd in Words. He plainly ſaw, that the *Emperour* was highly diſſatisfied with Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*; But he had ſuch Credit in the *Empire*, eſpecially with the Circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia*, that there was a Neceſſity of bearing with what could not be remedied. The ſame Evening, he was a long while in Converſation with Their *Imperial* Majeſties; When the *Emperour* was graciouſly pleaſed to declare, that *his Grace's Services to the Common Cauſe, in General, and to His Family, in particular, were ſuch as ſhould never be forgotten by Him, nor his Poſterity.* His Grace was afterwards ſeized with a Fit of the Gout, which confined him three Days to his Chamber; During which Time, he was viſited by all Perſons of the greateſt Diſtinction at that Court. The nineteenth, the Earl of *Sunderland* had his Audience of Leave of the *Emperour* and *Empreſs*, and the next Day of the *Empreſs* Dowager, and the Archdutcheſſes; And was preſented, by His *Imperial* Majeſty, with his Picture ſet with Diamonds. The twenty-ſecond, the Duke of *Marlborough* went to the famous Chamber of Rarities, where the *Emperour* was pleaſed to meet him, and preſented him, in a very obliging Manner, with a Ring of great Value. The ſame Evening, his Grace had his Audience of Leave, of the whole *Imperial* Family, and, the twenty-third, departed from *Vienna*, being accompanied by the Earl of *Sunderland*, for the Court of *Berlin*.

1705.

And Conferences with the Miniſters.

The Earl of Sunderland *has his Audience of Leave.*

The Duke of Marlb. *departs for the Court of* Berlin.

1705. *Berlin*, having firſt concerted proper Meaſures with the *Imperial* Miniſters, for carrying on the War with more Vigour than ever, renewed our Treaties made with the *Emperour*, *Leopold*, and provided for the Security of the Duke of *Savoy*.

Is made Pr. of Mindelheim. In Conſideration of the ſignal Services done by his Grace to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and to the *Empire*, his *Imperial* Majeſty was pleaſed to make him a Grant of the Lordſhip of *Mindelheim*, in *Suabia*, not far from *Augsburg*, lately poſſeſſed by Duke *Maximilian*, Uncle to the *Elector* of *Bavaria*, which Fief was now erected into a Principality of the *Holy Roman Empire*, and was, in ſuch Manner conferred upon the Duke, *That his Grace, and the Heirs-Male of his Body, lawfully begotten, and their Heirs-Male, and Poſſeſſors of that Principality, ſhould be ſummoned to all the Diets of the* Empire, *and Circle of* Suabia, *there to appear in Perſon, or by their Plenipotentiary, as other Princes of the* Empire *do: And ſhould alſo enjoy all other Advantages, Immunities, Rights, Prerogatives, and Pre-eminences, as Princes of the* Empire *have*. From whence his Grace was, from that Time, diſtinguiſh'd, throughout the *Empire*, by the Stile and Title of Prince of *Mindelheim*. While the Duke was at *Vienna*, the two Envoys and Plenipotentiaries of the *States General* came, by expreſs Orders from their Maſters, from *Tyrnau* to wait on his Grace, and to receive his Advice and Directions about the Negociation with the *Hungarians*.

His Journy from Vienna *to* Berlin. When the Duke of *Marlborough* departed from *Vienna*, His *Imperial* Majeſty had ordr'd Horſes to be ready at every Stage, at His

His own Expence, and ſeveral Officers of the Court rode before, to provide every Thing in a Readineſs, that nothing might retard their Journy; So that the Duke and the Earl travell'd with extraordinary Speed, notwithſtanding the Seaſon of the Year. 1705.

THE Duke, arriving at *Berlin*, the 30th, went the ſame Night, to Court, and had a Conference with the King of *Pruſſia*. The next Day, he preſented the Earl of *Sunderland* to his Majeſty, the Prince Royal, and the two *Markgraves*, the King's Brothers, who all received his Lordſhip with great Marks of Eſteem. They ſaw the King at Dinner, with the whole Royal Family, and, after a ſhort Stay there, his Grace, with the Lord *Sunderland*, went to dine with the Lord *Raby*, Her Majeſty's Ambaſſadour at that Court. The ſame Evening, his Grace ſupp'd with the King, the Prince Royal, and the *Markgraves*, and dined with them, the next Day, at the Great Chamberlain's. *The Duke of* Marlb. *arrives at* Berlin. *His Entertainment there.*

THE Day following, his Grace had a long Conference with the King; and he had learn'd ſo perfectly to accommodate himſelf to that capricious Prince's Temper, that he renewed all Treaties, and particularly the Treaty concluded, the laſt Year, with that Court, for 8000 Men, to be employ'd in *Italy*, for one Year longer; His Majeſty promiſing to recruit them, and to ſend three Battalions, in the Room of the Horſe which were recall'd. His Grace having ſettled theſe Affairs, and adjuſted ſome other Difficulties, ſet out from *Berlin* the third of *December*, N. S. in the Evening, being very well ſatisfied with the Succeſs of his Negociations, and the Honour which had been ſhewn him at that Court *And Negociations.*

where

1705. where he was complimented by the *Imperial* Reſident, with the Title of Prince of *Mindelſheim*, by Order of his Maſter; and he, likewiſe, delivered his Grace a Letter from the *Emperour*. The King of *Pruſſia* preſented his Grace with a Sword enrich'd with Diamonds, and the Earl of *Sunderland* with a Diamond Ring of conſiderable Value.

Preſents made his Grace, and the Earl of Sunderland.

They arrive at Hannover;

THE ſixth of *December*, N. S. they arriv'd at *Hannover*, where his Grace lodg'd at the Houſe of General *Bulau*, which had been prepared for his Reception, and the Lord *Sunderland* was entertained, at another Houſe, belonging to one of the chief Officers of the Court. They waited, the ſame Evening, on his *Electoral* Highneſs, the *Electoreſs* Dowager, *&c.* and were received with the Marks of Diſtinction due to their Quality and extraordinary Merit. The Duke gave that Court full Aſſurances of the Queen's adhering firmly to their Intereſts, in maintaining the Succeſſion to the Crown, in their Family, with which the *Elector* ſeem'd fully ſatisfy'd. The ninth, (his Grace having been preſented by the *Elector* with a fine Calaſh and ſix Horſes, and the Earl of *Sunderland* with a Set of Horſes) they ſet out early from *Hannover*, and arrived, the fourteenth, at the *Hague*.

And the Hague.

The Duke's Negociations there.

THE Duke having ſettled ſeveral important Matters with the *States General*, particularly the taking 10,000 Men more into the Pay of *England* and *Holland*, to re-inforce Prince *Eugene*'s Army in *Italy*, his Grace went on Board Her Majeſty's Frigat, the *Peregrine* Gally, the ſeven and twentieth of *December*, in the *Pit*, below the *Brill*, and ſailing from thence, the next Morning early in Company of

of ſeveral Yachts, under Convoy of a Squadron of her Majeſty's Ships, arrived at *St. James*'s the thirtieth, at Night, about eleven o'Clock. 1705. *The Duke arrives in* England.

To conclude this Year, as I did the former, I ſhall juſt hint, in a very few Words, at what happened, during ſome Part of it, in other Places: And firſt, for the *German* Army; It was, as uſual, not brought together, before the Month of *Auguſt*. It was then, indeed, a fine one, and yet did not do very much. The *French* gave way, and retired before them: *Hagenau*, and ſome other Places, were abandon'd by the *French*, and the *Imperialiſts* took Poſſeſſion of them. A Blockade was laid to Fort *Louis*: But nothing was done by that Army, equal to their Numbers and Strength, or to the Reputation the Prince of *Baden* had formerly acquired. *Affairs of* Germany.

IN *Italy*, Prince *Eugene* had again a melancholy Campaign. His Army was weak, ill-provided, and worſe paid: The *French* were far ſuperiour in Number and Forces, and he was long ſhut up within the Country of *Bergamo*; at Length, he broke thro' to *Cuſano*, where there happened a very ſharp Action, between him, and the Duke *de Vendome*: Both Sides pretended to the Victory; but Prince *Eugene* ſeemed to have the cleareſt Title to it; Becauſe *Vendome* repaſs'd the River, and left the *Imperialiſts* Maſters of the Field of Battle. *Affairs of* Italy.

End of BOOK IV. *and* VOL. I.

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